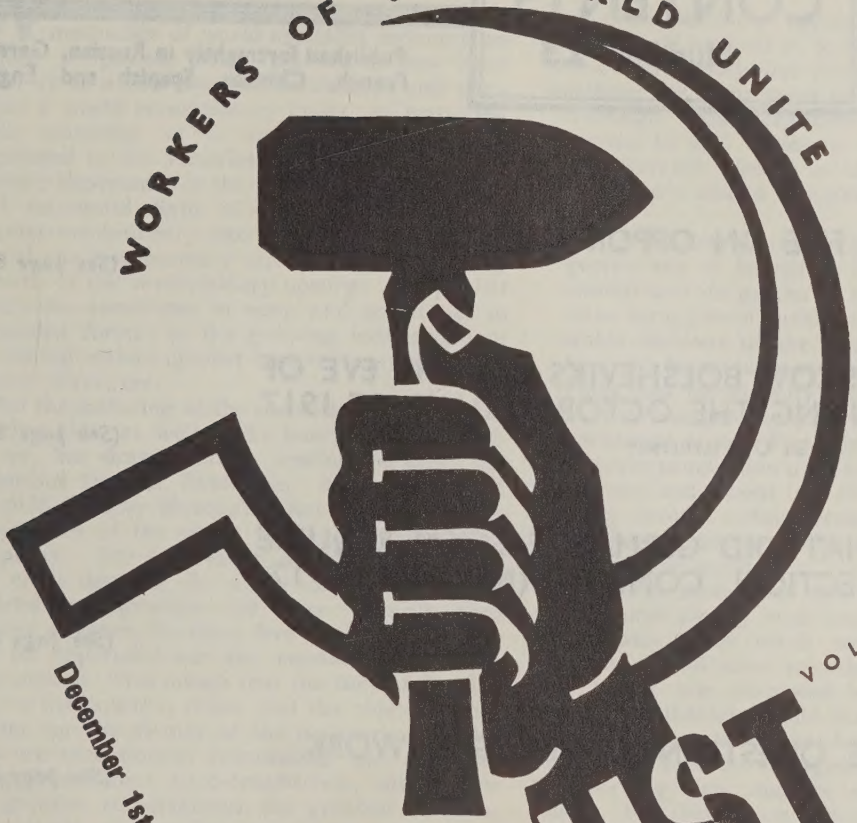

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HEAVIER FIRE ON OPPORTUNISM

WE are now living in a period when the mechanics of world capitalist economy are falling to pieces, when the world has come right up to a new round of revolutions and wars, when a world revolutionary crisis is maturing. This maturing of a revolutionary crisis is expressed in the victories of socialism of world historic importance in the U.S.S.R., in the heroic and successful fight of Soviet China against counter-revolutionary intervention, in the deepening of the revolutionary crisis in Spain, in the growth of the revolutionary upsurge in capitalist countries—sometimes in open and sometimes in concealed forms; in the growing indignation of the toiling masses against hunger, unemployment, fascist terror, etc.

But the maturing of the revolutionary crisis has another side, as well. The bourgeoisie, as well as we, has drawn certain conclusions from the victorious October Rvolution. A bestial fear of a world October Revolution has now seized the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and determines its policy. For that reason, the more the economic crisis deepens, the more real the menace of proletarian revolution—the more furiously does fascism advance, the more feverish is the preparation for imperialist war and counter-revolutionary intervention. This means that the time of decisive battles for power is close, that the objective conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution are exceptionally favourable, but that the struggle will be a hard-fought one, will require the greatest steadfastness, the greatest heroism, the greatest self-sacrifice, and the readiness to die for the great cause of the working class. To rouse masses of the workers for this struggle it is more necessary than ever to concentrate attention on the creation of the united front, in order that the Communist Parties may win the majority of the working class to their side. But it is impossible to develop this struggle where we have opportunists in our rear who do not believe in our cause, and try to hinder our progress. Our Parties must now, as always, carry on a fight on two fronts, both against various manifestations of the "Left" deviation, against sectarian tendencies, fear of the masses, unwillingness and inability to draw masses of the non-Party and Social-Democratic workers into the united front of struggle, and against all manifestations of the Right deviation. But the principal danger, now more than ever, is the Right danger.

The task of our Party is not only to fight against Right opportunism, showing openly and sharing spread, but also to strike a blow at the least manifestation of opportunism and a conciliatory attitude towards it, to *prevent* the manifestation of all opportunist vacillations by vigilantly watching the manœuvres of our class enemies.

Through what channels does opportunism penetrate to us? Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I., pointed out the main source of right opportunism in our Party:

> "In the first place, the pressure of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and its parties in the conditions of the class struggle—a pressure to which the least stable sections of the proletariat, and, therefore, the least stable sections of the proletarian Party, not infrequently succumb. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its Party finds expression in the frequent penetration of bourgeois ideas, morals, customs and moods into the proletariat and its Party through certain sections of the proletariat which are connected with bourgeois society in one way or another."

But what sections of the proletariat are connected most closely with bourgeois society? It is precisely those which constitute the Social-Democratic and other so-called socialist parties, and which are corrupted by them. For this reason social-fascism and its Trotskyist-Brandlerite scum are the *main channel* through which the influence of the bourgeoisie penetrates into the working class and the weak links in our Party. For this reason opportunist speeches and statements in our Parties are, in every case, only *repetitions* of the talk and writings of the social-fascists and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. The Right opportunist, who capitulates to the class enemy from cowardice, from lack of faith in the strength of the proletariat, and from over-estimation of the strength of the class enemy, already has one foot in the camp of social-fascism, is already an agent of the class enemy. Thus we have a sure compass to determine the direction from which the opportunist danger threatens. It is only necessary to learn to make good use of this compass. We have a number of Communist Parties which have learned to make good use of this compass, and in which the fight against opportunism is now carried on with the greatest vigilance and energy; examples of this are shown by our German, Polish, Bulgarian, Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties. And there is no Party in which a fight against opportunism is not going on—otherwise it would not be a Communist Party. But in a number of our Parties the development of this struggle does not

yet correspond to the growth of the opportunist danger. And on this we must sound the alarm.

* * *

The main opportunist danger for our Parties at the present time is that of the loss of revolutionary perspective, underestimation of the maturing revolutionary crisis; an underestimation which arises from the dual character of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis, from the fact that at present not only are the forces of the revolution growing, but the forces of counter-revolution are being feverishly mobilised, that Social-Democracy speculates on this, trying to frighten the workers and paralyse their will to fight.

In its estimate of the situation in Germany after Hitler came to power, our Party says that owing to the treachery of Social-Democracy, the German proletariat was forced to retreat temporarily, and that there is now commencing in Germany a new revolutionary upsurge. All the Social-Democratic Parties attempt as one to distort this perspective, asserting that the German proletariat has been smashed, that in Germany an "epoch of fascism and reaction" has set in.

As might have been expected, this counter-revolutionary manœuvre of the social-fascists and Trotskyists immediately found a response among the opportunist elements in our Parties. The least response, a negligible one, it found in the German Party, which by its heroic struggle, shows in deeds that the German proletariat has not been smashed, that the German revolution is not dead. Here the Social-Democratic spouting about the "unprecedented defeat" was repeated only by the little opposition group, isolated from the masses, which centred around Remmele-Neumann. A loud response this counter-revolutionary estimate of the situation found among the opportunists in our Czecho-Slovakian Party (Gutman), who disagreed with the resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on this question. These elements refused to carry on propaganda in the masses for the fundamental principles of Bolshevism in the fight against their bourgeoisie, hid the face of the Party from the masses, refused to set fighting proletarian internationalism with whole-hearted determination in opposition to nationalism and chauvinism. They disregarded the importance of propaganda for the Leninist slogan of defeating their own bourgeoisie. They hushed up before the workers the rôle of the Social-Democracy as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. The leadership of the C.P.C. struck hard at these opportunist tendencies. On this question Comrade Gottwald wrote his article, "A Clear Front Against Opportunism." And the last two issues of the "Komunisticka Revue" have been devoted to self-criticism on these questions.

Underestimation of the maturing of the revolutionary crisis shows not only in the assertion that in Germany and Central Europe generally an "epoch of fascism and reaction" has set in, but also in the statement that in the U.S.A. Mr. Roosevelt is opening up a new era of American prosperity by his "National Industrial Recovery" plan. Here again, this demagogic lie comes from the camp of the international Social-Democracy, which has revived its bankrupt theory of "organised capitalism" in connection with Roosevelt's plan. Here again, some opportunist elements in our American Party are caught by this trap. They declare that Roosevelt really has the good intention of improving the condition of the workers in connection with the general regulating of economy, but that the bourgeois wire-pullers don't let him. It is they who say that the best thing that could be done in order to get a hold on the masses in the U.S.A. is to hide the face of the C.P. Thus, the first manifestation of Right opportunism is underestimation of the forces of the revolution, overestimation of the forces of fascism and the bourgeoisie in the process of fascisation, underestimation of the tempo of the maturing revolutionary crisis and the rate of transition to the new round of revolutions and wars.

* * *

The second manifestation of Right opportunism is a distorted estimate of the fascist dictatorship. "From our point of view, fascism is a fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie, existing with the active support of Social-Democracy." (Stalin.) The fascist party is the party of monopoly capital, which draws the petty bourgeois masses after it with the assistance of its national and social demagogy. Fascism is the open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which has, in the present conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, grown organically from bourgeois democracy, as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie disguised by parliamentarism, and the road to fascism was cleared by the Social-Democracy. Social-Democracy, as against us and in contradiction to the truth, tries to make a distinction of principle between the régime of bourgeois democracy and that of fascist dictatorship, depicting the fascist dictatorship, moreover, as the dictatorship, not of the bourgeoisie, not of monopoly capital, but the dictatorship of the petty bourgeoisie in revolt, and in Germany particularly as the dictatorship of the *Lumpenproletariat*. By this manœuvre it attempts, in the first place, to free the monopolist bourgeoisie of responsibility for the fascist terror, and, secondly, to relieve itself of responsibility for

policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, for ying the part of the main social support of the rgeoisie; thirdly, it attempts to paralyse the ggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie he so-called "Democratic" countries; fourthly, helping the fascists to conceal their exploiting racter, it weakens our struggle against the ist party and the fascist dictatorship. In the orial of the new theoretical organ of German ial-Democracy, "The Social Revolution," we statements about the universal "anti-capital- revolt of the middle classes," and particularly ut the fact that in the U.S.A. "both large- le industry and, particularly, banking capital, ch under Hoover still undoubtedly occupied a inating position, now, under Roosevelt, have n pushed in the background," that in the S.A. "the absence of an independent labour vement has created the opportunity for the elopment of an anti-capitalist policy in classic ity." As an economic fact, says the article, is now universal. But, from a political point view, it is differentiated. "In the West, in ndinavia and France, the situation is different n that in the East, although there the middle ses have also been embraced by the revolt. there this movement is far less imbued with ed of the labour movement, than, for in- ce, in Germany. For Germany, owing to its tical fate, was condemned to being the bearer caction in Europe, in order to counter-balance ocratic France."

The Rhine is not simply a border, it has me a precipice which separates the world of barbarity from districts of culture."

We are told that this "dark barbarity" in many resulted from the fact that "the anti- talist front has drawn in decisive sections of large-scale agrarians and capitalists which, ng to the weakness of their economic base, ripened for joining the *party of the declassed*, the National-Socialist Party—Ed.)." This ic counter-revolutionary rubbish on the pages n organ which is labelled "Marxist," which ased on the swindle of substituting for those rule the fascist party (Messrs. Thyssen, pp & Co.) the ruined petty bourgeois masses m they have fooled, and are leading by the , immediately found a response, as might be cted, among the opportunists in our Parties. group of Remmele-Neumann literally copies e theories, writing: "The election cry of the ented burghers—"Live and let live" — has replaced, in so far as that is necessary for struggle against the proletariat, by a volun- recognition of murder, plunder and robbery. whole of the bourgeoisie joins in and obeys *Lumpenproletariat*, in the dark anticipation that there lies the road and the future of the whole capitalist society!"

In connection with misunderstanding of the social origins of the fascist dictatorship and its organic growth from bourgeois democracy in the present conditions, we at present observe in some of our Parties in "democratic" countries an opportunist underestimation of the rate of fascisation of these countries. We found outstanding examples of such underestimation in Czecho-Slovakia, where many Communists at first did not understand that Social-Democracy, which is in coalition with the bourgeois parties, in Czecho-Slovakia is at the same time not only the conductor, but also the bearer of fascism, which resulted in our Party's not organising mass political resistance to fascist reaction. Recently, our Party has been turning to face these tasks. There is still much to be done.

* * *

The third manifestation of opportunism in our Parties is an underestimation of the rôle of the Social-Democracy as the principal support of the bourgeoisie, underestimation of "Left" manœuvres of the Social-Democratic parties or sections of them and illusions connected with these "Left" manœuvres; underestimation or denial of the fact that the Social-Democracy continues to play the part of the principal social support of the bourgeoisie in lands of open fascist dictatorship too; and, lastly, the opportunist distortion of our united front tactics which is connected with all this.

Under the influence of the growth of fascism and the danger of war on the one hand and the radicalisation of the masses on the other, we now observe in the majority of countries a process of disintegration of Social-Democracy. One part of it openly goes over to the camp of fascism (Neofascism); the other—the main section of the Social-Democratic parties—carries on the same policy as the first, but by other methods; for it disguises it with "Left" phrases, "Left" slogans, "Left" manœuvres, in order to make it easier to keep a hold on the masses, to hold them back from revolutionary struggle; a third part of the Social-Democratic parties—"Left" groups—set up a so-called "opposition" to the party leadership, again in order to disguise the "fascisation" of the Social-Democracy. Only among the *rank and file* of the Social-Democratic parties, only in the *masses* of the Social-Democratic parties, do we see a universal sincere attraction to the revolutionary united front, a sincere attraction towards united struggle with the Communists.

German Social-Democracy, which joined the open fascist dictatorship at the moment when

Hitler came to power, later split formally, remaining, in fact, the social support of the fascist dictatorship. In Number 6 of the "Neue Vorwärts," published by Wels and Stampfer, we find statements both on the programme aims of the party, the division of large-scale land ownership, the socialisation of the main branches of industry, the "stabilisation of the political domination of the working class by means of dictatorship, with the aim of a free democratic state" (!) Together with these and similar vague "Left" phrases, we find in No. 3 of the same organ statements which show the true face of Messrs. Wels and Stampfer:

> "A danger arises that the elements who were yesterday Bolshevik, to-day are fascist, and to-morrow will again become Bolshevik, will seize the rule in the land and cause incredible evil, as objectively they do not understand the laws of class struggle and subjectively are unstable and mercenary elements."

Wels' Prague declaration breathed the same spirit:

> "If besides Russia one or more other Bolshevik states came into being, the life of the whole world would be paralysed."

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must wait patiently until the fascist régime collapses of itself, must not fight against it, in fact, but do everything in our power to prevent the fascists being replaced by the Bolsheviks.

In Czecho-Slovakia the whole Social-Democratic party openly acts not only as the conductor but also the bearer of open fascist dictatorship, together with the bourgeois parties of the "burgh." We find the same situation in a number of other Social-Democratic parties. In Great Britain a split has taken place: the Independent Labour Party has left the Labour Party, but at the same time the leaders of the Independent Labour Party, Brockway & Co., sabotage the carrying out of the decisions of the party conference in Derby on "assisting" the Comintern; at the same time they spread slanders about the Soviet government and try to get together a new "International" by uniting with the renegades from Communism and, first of all, with the Trotskyists.

In France the Socialist Party has also split. Its Right Wing—the group of Renaudel-Marquet-Déat—has taken up an openly neo-fascist position. Déat said:

> "We are horrified by the fact that this régime is coming to an end. We do not believe that the working class will prove able to play the part assigned to it by Marx. The strengthening of the internal consolidation of capitalist countries is breaking down internationalism. Therefore we must build Socialism on national grounds with the aid of the despairing middle classes, and by means of an economy organised by a strong state which will re-establish the conception of power."

The greater part of the French Social-Democratic party, led by Leon Blum and Paul Faure, has expelled these Right Neo-fascists from the party and is now uttering fine "Left" phrases about the "expropriation of the expropriators" and even the "dictatorship of the proletariat." And yet, at the same time, they have placed Frossard, a supporter of unity with Renaudel, at the head of the parliamentary fraction; have expelled Left elements grouped around the "Action Socialiste" from the party, which were attracted towards the united front struggle, together with the Communists, and are carrying on unceasing propaganda against the Soviet power. In Austria a declaration was unanimously adopted at the last party congress of Social-Democracy. In this declaration the Austrian Social-Democracy "threatens" the fascist dictatorship of Dollfuss with a "general strike and revolution" if the government of Dollfuss forbids the Social-Democratic party, if it appoints a commissar for Vienna. But the mendacity of this declaration, which the "Lefts" also signed, is patent from the fact that the authors of the declaration, while threatening to bring about a general strike in the future and even a "revolution" if the Social-Democratic Party should be forbidden (which they consider it would not be *formally*), at the same time, at *present*, hold the workers back by all means from every kind of struggle for partial, economic and political demands, which alone could bring the revolution nearer. This by no means precludes the possibility that the Austrian Social-Democracy will hold a brief demonstrative strike, but not for a revolutionary fight against the fascist dictatorship, but for supporting that part of the Austrian bourgeoisie, which, together with the Austrian Social-Democracy bases its plans on French imperialism.

Social-Democracy always and everywhere proves that it is the main social support of the bourgeoisie, for it divides the proletariat and puts obstacles in the way of the culmination of its revolutionary struggle. And yet in our parties we see opportunist vacillations on this question.

During the last two years the working class of Czecho-Slovakia has carried through, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, a number of large-scale economic struggles and political actions, widely extending the united front of struggle. But lately, a very great slowing down is to be observed in Czecho-

vakia of the rapid organisational growth of C.P.C. and the Red trade unions, which is aracteristic of the preceding years, and the ıultaneous rapid increase of the influence of the cists. The causes of this lie not in objective ıditions, but only in the opportunist mistakes nitted by the Party in carrying out the united nt, which took the form of relaxing the uggle against the Social-Democracy, in the stulate that the Social-Democratic workers are y backward, and not infected with the Social-mocratic ideology, that the Communist work- have no differences of principles with them, t in the course of the joint struggle they will ne to us. Some Czecho-Slovakian comrades, h as Comrade Gutman and others, explain this eat slowing down in the organisational growth the C.P.C. and the Red trade unions in an portunist manner, by saying that the German oletariat has been routed and that this has ıused a depression among the proletariat of echo-Slovakia.

Right opportunist errors in carrying out united nt tactics are to be observed not only in our echo-Slovakian Party.

n France, in contrast with the satisfactorily nducted strike at the Citroen works, during the lders' strike, and later the general strike, in asburg, of which the latter spontaneously took highly revolutionary forms, our comrades in *Confédération Unitaire du Travail*, notwith-nding the presence of representatives of the C. of the Party, capitulated three times to the ormist union bureaucrats for the sake of nity." At one time the C.C. of the Com-nist Party of France also entertained illusions out the possibility of bringing about unity with reformists instead of a united front with the ial-Democratic masses from below, as when, connection with the letter of the E.C.C.I. on united front, it entered into negotiations with l Faure. This mistake the C.C. of the C.P.F. corrected, and the situation is now changed. split has taken place in the French Socialist ty, which we mentioned above. In this new ation the C.C. of the C.P.F. did not repeat its mistake; it was not deceived by either the ft" gesture of Messrs. Blum and Faure—the ulsion of Renaudel, or by their present loud ft" phrases. However, difficulties are still ountered in carrying out the correct tactics in tion to the Socialists, owing to the resistance Right and vacillating elements in the Party. n our Austrian Communist Party opportunist takes were also made in carrying out the cs of the united front. Our Austrian com-s entertained certain illusions about the "Left" opposition groups of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party; hoping that at the party congress they would come out against the party leadership, they entered into negotiations with them. It turned out, however, that at the party congress they voted together with the Rights for the demagogic, lying "Left" declaration of Otto Bauer. The organisation of the German Young Communist League in Saxony also made opportunist errors in carrying out the united front, by exchanging representatives with the Union of Social-Democratic Youth.

And again, our British Party, which adopts correct tactics in connection with the exit of the Independent Labour Party from the Labour Party and its negotiations with the Comintern about assisting it, must see the danger of having in the Party opinions such as that the I.L.P. leaders are not unanimous on the question of the united front, which hinders the carrying out of the united front tactics; whereas in fact the I.L.P. leaders are perfectly unanimous in their sabotage of the united front, towards which the masses of the I.L.P. membership are attracted; whereas in fact in Great Britain, as in other places, the united front will be successfully carried out only in proportion as the Social-fascist leaders are exposed.

In conclusion, about the platform of the German so-called "conciliator" mentioned above.

By no means comparing the contents of this "platform" with the errors which we have enumerated, made by our comrades in various parties, as its author took up a position of hostility to our Party and is now wholly in the camp of the Brandlerites, we shall, however, point out an "amendment" which he proposes to make in the position of the C.P.G. in relation to the German Social-Democracy, in the interests, we are to suppose, of carrying through more rapidly the united front with the Social-Democratic workers. We will point out this "amendment" because it forms a classic example of a muddled understanding of the rôle of Social-Democracy, which is an example of how not to argue. The author of this platform writes:

> "In conclusion, about the Brandlerite theory, which is in some places penetrating into our ranks, that in the countries where open fascist dictatorship is established, where the fascist party is in power, this party becomes the 'principal support' of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, that in these countries the Social-Democracy ceases to be the main social support of the bourgeoisie, for it is itself persecuted, for it cannot crush the proletariat and can only introduce disintegration into the ranks of the proletariat by spreading reformist illu-

sions and by sabotaging its revolutionary struggle. This is a most harmful theory, based on a muddled understanding and only capable of sending the workers off the track."

In the first place, the fascist party, the party of the Nazis, is not a "support" of the bourgeois dictatorship; it is the party of the monopolist bourgeoisie itself, it embodies the latter's dictatorship. We might consider it the support of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie only if we were to believe the Social-Democratic story that it is the party of the revolting petty bourgeoisie, and not the party of the bourgeoisie, which is leading the petty bourgeoisie by the nose. Secondly, it is nonsense to say that the Social-Democracy has ceased to be the principal support of the bourgeoisie because its rôle is now limited to bringing disintegration into the ranks of the proletariat and sabotaging its struggle. Why, it is precisely this disruption of the proletariat and sabotage of its struggle that is the *principal* mission of the Social-Democracy, the agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class! That is *precisely the reason* why it was called the principal support of the bourgeoisie!

* * *

The fourth form of opportunism or conciliation of it is an insufficiently correct explanation of the Soviet peace policy and an insufficiently energetic and well-conducted struggle against the social-fascist, Trotskyist distortions of it. The Soviet power is the only power which conducts a consistent peace policy. Thanks to the growing might of the Soviet power, to the growing sympathies of the toilers of the whole world towards the Soviet Union, and to a clever utilisation of the contradictions in the camp of the imperialists, the power of the Soviets had a number of important achievements in diplomacy.

It has succeeded in concluding a number of non-aggression pacts and in bringing a number of countries to agree to its definition of the aggressor. It has now won a very important success in this sphere by achieving the recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A. This policy of peace, on the one hand, attracts more and more the sympathies of the toiling masses of the whole world for the Soviet power, and on the other hinders, to a certain extent, attacks on the Soviet power on the part of the capitalist powers which have signed the pacts. On the grounds of these facts the Social-fascists always and everywhere have carried on and are carrying on an anti-Soviet demagogy with the aim of discrediting the Soviet power in the eyes of the proletariat. They say that the Soviet power is ready to conclude "friendship" with the imperialist bourgeoisie of any country and at the same time supports a "fratricidal" struggle within the working class by encouraging the propaganda against the Second International. Of course, in this case, too, Messrs. the Trotskyists act as the advance guard of the counter-revolution, charging the Soviet power with supporting the fascist Hitler government in Germany by prolonging its agreement with Germany, and with lending support to Japanese imperialism by its so-called recognition of Manchukuo. And again, as might have been expected, the "Left" Social-Democrats, Brockway and Co., repeated this counter-revolutionary slander uttered by Trotsky. Have the Bolsheviks given a clear and unambiguous explanation of their foreign policy which admits of no misinterpretation? Yes, they have, and a long time ago, too. In his pamphlet, "Left Wing Communism; an Infantile Sickness," Lenin wrote as follows on the question of the Brest peace between the Bolsheviks and the German imperialists:

> "Imagine that your automobile is held up by armed bandits. You hand them over your money, passport, revolver, the machine. In return you are spared the pleasant company of the bandits. The compromise is plainly there . . . But one can hardly find a sane man who would pronounce such a compromise 'inadmissible on principle,' or would proclaim the compromiser an accomplice of the bandits . . . Our compromise with the bandits of German imperialism was such a compromise. But when the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries in Russia, the Scheidemanns (and to a great extent the Kautskys) in Germany, Otto Bauer and Friedrich Adler . . . in Austria, the Renaudels, Longuets and Co. in France, the 'Independents,' the 'Labourites' and the Fabians in Great Britain in 1914-18 and 1920, concluded compromises with the bandits of their own bourgeoisie, and sometimes with those of the bourgeoisie of the 'Allies,' against the revolutionary proletariat of their country, that is where these worthies were guilty of aiding and abetting the bandits . . . The Party which compromised with German imperialism by signing the Brest Treaty, had been evolving internationalism in deed since the end of 1914. It did not fear to proclaim the defeat of the tsarist monarchy and to repudiate the 'defence of the fatherland' in a war between two imperialist plunderers. The members of this Party in the Duma preferred the road to penal servitude in Siberia to the road leading to ministerial portfolios in bourgeois governments. The Revolution, which overthrew tsarism and established the democratic republic, subjected the Party to a new and tremendous

est; the Party rejected all temporising with ts own' imperialists, but prepared their over- rrow and did overthrow them. Having taken ver the political power, the Party left not the nallest fragment of the property of either the ndlords or the capitalists," etc.

long time has passed since these words were tten. The Soviet power has become a mighty e which will not conclude such agreements as "disgusting," very unfavourable Brest peace, any bandits of imperialism. Now the Soviet er will not under any circumstances give up ngle inch of its territory to anybody. If any dits of imperialism try to attack the Soviet on now, the Soviet Union will set itself only task, as Comrade Molotov said at the Anni- sary Plenum of the Moscow Soviet on ember 6: "Complete routing of the enemy the victory of our Red Army leaders . . . The cking party will soon realise what it is to deal the invincible Red Army."

ut if many things have changed since Lenin te the words quoted above, one thing remains hanged. If the Soviet Union now concludes renews an agreement with the "bandits of erialism," it is pursuing one single aim: to ong the breathing space it has for Socialist struction and postpone, as long as possible, time when the bandits of imperialism attack Soviet Union.

hus the principles which are the basis of the eements which the Soviet power concludes capitalist powers have a long time ago exhaustively explained and publicly ex- sed. The *principles* which underlie the ign policy of the Soviet power are, of course, same as the principles which underlie the cy of the Bolshevik and all Communist ies, only the *forms and methods* of action are ssarily different, for in one case it is the e power which acts and in the other it is the y. It is this difference, evidently, which e comrades in the various Parties do not se, as a result of which they are caught in trap of Social-Democratic demagogy. And it is perfectly obvious that the correct pre- ation of the foreign policy of the Soviet rnment is not only a necessary element of y education, but also an indispensable ideo- al weapon in the fight against our class ies.

manifestation of opportunism is also con- d in the pacifist conclusion drawn from the aggression pacts which the Soviet govern- concludes. There can be no doubt that the t government carries on a policy of peace. the question of peace is determined not by it alone, but also by the imperialist powers. And the imperialist powers, whatever pacts they may conclude with the Soviet government, cannot and do not intend to do away with their enmity of principle to the Soviet government. Besides, it is not at all necessary for a united front of all imperialists to be established in order that the Soviet Union should be attacked. The non-existence of a united front of *all* imperialists will never prevent certain imperialist bandits from taking the initiative in counter-revolutionary war, with the expectation that, after that, certain re-groupings will take place in the camp of the imperialists. And never was the danger of counter-revolutionary and imperialist war so great and so close as now, particularly in connection with the present policy of Japanese, German and British imperialism. To close one's eyes to this is to commit a crime against the world proletarian revolution. Unfortunately, we see that, in some of our Parties, the undoubtedly great successes achieved by Soviet diplomacy have created illusions in the minds of a number of comrades, to the effect that the danger of war in the immediate future is past. This, for instance, was the drift of an article in an organ of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, "Rude Pravo," which spoke at the same time of the defensive character of the policy of the Czecho-Slovakian government in questions of the Versailles system. This is also the explanation of the fact that in Czecho-Slovakia no anti-war demonstration was organised on August 1, 1933. This is the explanation of the fact that during preparations for the youth anti-war and anti-fascist congress in Paris comrades in some parties attempted to turn these preparations into a vulgar pacifist demonstration. They even went so far as to invite an archbishop to take part in a peace demonstration.

* * *

The fifth manifestation of opportunism consists of the fact that our parties do not always know how to resist the manœuvres of the Social-fascists, who try to make use of the hatred of the masses towards German Hitler fascism, on the one hand, and their sympathies towards the Soviet Union, on the other, and to make capital of these feelings for their imperialism, inflaming nationalism in their own countries. Thus, on the basis of the fascist danger from Germany and also of the non-aggression pact concluded between Pilsudski and the U.S.S.R., the adherents of the P.P.S. in Poland criticised the policy of the Polish Communist Party and their defence of the principle of the right to self-determination for the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia. This manœuvre caused vacillations among some

opportunist elements in the Polish Communist Party; these were rapidly eliminated by the Party leadership, which issued a perfectly clear reply to the social-imperialists on this question. Emphasising the fact that the Polish Communist Party is guided by Lenin's slogan, that "the principal enemy is in their own country," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland explains that the slogan of self-determination can only be realised by means of revolutionary struggle against both Polish imperialism, which seized Upper Silesia and the Polish Corridor by *force*, and German imperialism, which wants to annex these territories to Germany by *force*. Not so good was the reaction to these manœuvres of some Czecho-Slovakian comrades, who were caught in this trap and themselves slipped down to a nationalist position, criticising the imperialist policy of the Little Entente as a whole only on the grounds of the great power (?) chauvinism in Yugo-Slavia and Rumania, and saying nothing about the great power chauvinism (?) in their own country, Czecho-Slovakia. Such Right opportunist mistakes in the national question are particularly dangerous now, when fierce nationalism and chauvinism are being fomented everywhere for the sake of establishing "civil peace" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of one country, for the sake of inflaming war passions and strangling the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. In such conditions it is the duty of our Communist parties to fight boldly against chauvinism without fear of *swimming against the stream*, as the Russian Bolsheviks did during and after the imperialist war.

* * *

The sixth and last, in number, but one of the first in importance, manifestation of opportunism in our parties is lack of ability in the organisation to rise to a height corresponding to the height of the crisis of capitalism, inability, particularly in those countries which form the weaker links in the imperialist chain, to put in the foreground the task of organising mass political strikes on the basis of widespread economic strikes, inability to combine the economic and political struggle with the struggle for power which history has placed on the order of the day, the inability to concretely explain our programme to the masses, as against the programme of the capitalists and their social-fascist agents, the inability to face the masses even now, with the prospect of armed overthrow of the fascist power by force, in a number of countries where the revolutionary crisis is maturing most rapidly. We will not deal in detail with these questions here, as a special article is devoted to them.

To sum up. The time of great conflicts and great class struggle for power has come much nearer. The Comintern has repeatedly signalised the fact that our parties do not make full use of the revolutionary possibilities afforded; it has pointed out, at the time, the weaknesses, shortcomings and opportunist vacillations in various sections. The Party leaderships agreed with the statements of the Comintern and fought to overcome opportunist vacillations, but in a number of cases these shortcomings and vacillations were not eliminated at a sufficiently rapid tempo, with sufficient determination; and sometimes the decisions of the Comintern were only formally noted. This cannot continue in the future. It must be clearly realised that the objective conditions for our struggle and victory are at present very favourable, but at the same time, in connection with the sharpening of all contradictions in the capitalist world and the approach of decisive battles, *the opportunist danger is growing*. For this reason our parties must reorganise themselves for battle and direct all their efforts, all their energy, to mastering the great tasks with which they are faced. Under these circumstances the first task of our parties is to open the heaviest fire on opportunism.

CORRECTION TO 21.

Page 742, paragraph 6, should read :—

During the eight months of 1933, the district electric stations of the Glavenergo have produced 7,148,000 kilowatt hours, which is an increase of 22.3 per cent. as compared with the production of the corresponding period of 1932, i.e., 5,845,000 kilowatt hours.

HE MOSCOW BOLSHEVIKS ON THE EVE OF AND DURING THE OCTOBER DAYS OF 1917

By O. Piatnitsky.

INTRODUCTION.

HE conditions under which the political struggles of the working class developed in scow during the period of the February volution differed somewhat from those under ich the Petrograd proletariat was waging the uggle, under the direct leadership of the ntral Committee of the Bolshevik Party.

February found the labour movement in scow at a lower level of class development n in Petrograd. The basic cadres of the trograd workers were composed of fully class-scious proletarians, chiefly metalworkers and rkers in heavy industry who had lost their ntact with the village. In Moscow the bulk the workers, primarily textile workers, came m among the peasants and freed itself of petty urgeois influences more slowly than in Petro-ad.

This characteristic of the composition of the oletariat explains also the tardiness with which strike struggle developed in Moscow during years of the imperialist war compared with trograd. Thus, in 1916, of the 58,000 workers o downed tools on the anniversary of January all over Russia, 45,000 struck in Petrograd ne. In the printing workers' strike of October, 6, the total number of strikers throughout the ntry reached 181,000, the Petrograd workers rching far ahead of the rest of the country h 139,000 strikers. During the January kes of 1917, however, this relationship nged in favour of the provincial proletariat. e total number of workers who struck in ssia for purely political reasons was 162,000, which 95,000 were in Petrograd. Among the kers employed in the war industry, 88,000 nt on strike in Petrograd in January, 1917 (in y-four factories) and 45,000 struck work in y-two factories in Moscow.

The difference between the conditions of tical struggle in Moscow and Petrograd did disappear after the February Revolution as l. It will be remembered that the tsar's ernment was overthrown by the forces of the anced proletariat of Petrograd and its rison, which in turn revolutionised the hitherto t sections of the workers, thereby creating a s for their bolshevisation. Moscow was ined merely to remove the agents of the 's government, who were caught unawares by the revolutionary overthrow and found themselves unprepared to resist.

During the first months following upon the February Revolution, the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks over the workers of Moscow was noticeably stronger than that of the Bolsheviks. The social-collaborationists had a majority in the shop committees, district soviets, soldiers' and workers' central soviets. Only in the trade unions were the positions of the Bolsheviks very powerful from the very first days of the February Revolution.

In June, during the elections to the Moscow City Duma, in which for the first time the working masses took full part, the collaborationists obtained an overwhelming majority: the Bolsheviks received 75,409 votes or 11.8 per cent. of the total; this was 998 votes less than the number of votes received by the Mensheviks, 33,000 less than were received by the Cadets, and 300,000 less than were cast for the Socialist-Revolutionaries. It may be assumed that in May the Bolshevik Party organisation had about 11,000 members.

In the factories, mills and soldiers' barracks, the Bolsheviks had to conduct an uphill struggle against the supporters of the collaborationist parties which openly allied themselves in the soviets and acted as a united front against the Bolsheviks at the mass meetings. The Bolsheviks utilised every question of the daily struggle in the factories and barracks (wages, leaves of absence, overtime, high cost of living, delay in the payment of wages, etc.; poor food, orders to be sent to the front, the barracks, etc.) in order to link up the struggle for these demands with the attitude towards the Provisional Government and the imperialist war. The Bolsheviks suffered a good many defeats at the meetings in May and the first half of June.

After the July days the counter-revolutionary forces who were organised under the protection of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries became particularly active in Moscow. The bourgeois and the Socialist-Revolutionary-Menshevik press in Moscow did everything possible to portray the July events in Petrograd in a distorted form. The social collaborationist Moscow Soviet forbade demonstrations and meetings in the open air. The wave of chauvinist slander at

the Bolshevik Party and at Comrade Lenin which swept on from Petrograd exercised a powerful influence at first in Moscow, frightening the backward workers and soldiers away from the Bolsheviks. A situation was created when in many cases the Bolsheviks were unable to speak in the factories, mills and barracks.

In the latter half of July, however, there was a definite break in the attitude of the masses towards the Bolsheviks. The offensive undertaken by the Provisional Government at the front and its outcome on the one hand and the inability of the government and of the social-collaborationist parties which supported it, to corroborate in any way the charges which they advanced against the Bolsheviks—on the other, aroused the ire of the workers and soldiers against the collaborationists.

In Moscow, in contrast to Petrograd, the Provisional Government did not openly raise the question of despatching the garrison to the front.

The social collaborationists attempted to make wide use of the differences between the political situation in Moscow and Petrograd and applied a policy of "civil peace" towards the Cadets, on the one hand, and the Bolsheviks on the other. The Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who had a majority on the executive committees of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, sought by all means to disguise their differences with the Bolsheviks. They did not allow the local organs of the Provisional Government to employ repressions against the Bolshevik press of Moscow. This policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries exercised a certain influence over a section of the Bolsheviks, who were working in the Moscow Soviet, despite the fact that the Moscow Bolshevik organisation in the factories, mills and barracks conducted a ceaseless struggle against the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, exposing their hypocritical collaborationist policy.

On August 8, 1917, the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks held a meeting, together with the representatives from the cells and district committees, to discuss the form of the protest against the Moscow State Conference. On the basis of reports of the delegates, indicating an improvement of the sentiments in every district, factory and barrack, the Moscow Committee decided to make preparations for and carry out a one-day's strike of protest against the Moscow State Conference. The preparations for this strike were conducted in the factories and mills, trade unions and district soviets. The working masses took a stand in favour of a strike. The trade unions supported this decision. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies voted against the strike by a majority of 364 to 304. The All-City Conference of Bolsheviks, held on August 10, issued, with the consent of a Conference of the forty-one trade union executives, a call to the Moscow workers to go on strike on August 22, the day of the opening of the Moscow State Conference. To this call about 400,000 workers of Moscow responded. The entire industrial life of the city was paralysed. This tremendous strike showed that the Moscow workers were picking up speed and catching up with the revolutionary proletariat of Petrograd.

However, the final exposure of the social-collaborationist parties before the Moscow workers and soldiers and their isolation from the toiling masses took place only after the collapse of the Kornilov uprising.

The Moscow Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Soviet of Workers' Deputies only a few days after the Bolsheviks of Petrograd.

The relatively late growth of the revolutionary movement in Moscow, compared with Petrograd, and its lagging behind the revolutionary upsurge of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison prior to the October Revolution, had a certain effect upon the preparations for and progress of the uprising in Moscow.

* * *

1.—PREPARATIONS OF MOSCOW BOLSHEVIKS FOR THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.

During the first days of the Kornilov mutiny, the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik Party passed a resolution in which the fighting tasks confronting it at the time were described as follow:

> "The task of the Party and the proletariat consists under these conditions of the technical co-ordination of the forces aimed directly at the suppression of the Kornilov movement (membership in special fighting organisations), criticism of the half-heartedness of the petty-bourgeois socialists, systematically spurring them on in the direction of resolute measures, and the independent organisation of fighting centres of the working class. The basic line of conduct must be directed at the capture of the power by the proletarian organisations."

The Moscow Committee proposed the following immediate measures, urging that nothing must be neglected in their application:

> "1. Immediate arming of the workers and soldiers. 2. Energetic mass arrests of the counter-revolutionaries, particularly the Cadet centres and their military organisations. 3. Closing of the bourgeois newspapers and con-

fiscation of their print-shops. 4. Release of all arrested Bolsheviks. 5. Regulation of food and housing shortage."

The appeal issued by the Moscow Regional ureau of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour arty (B) to all the party organisations in the egion urged them to pursue the same line as as decided upon by it in co-operation with the loscow Committee and gave detailed instruc- ons as to how this policy should be carried out cally.

The appeals of the Moscow Committee and egional Bureau of the Party met with a wide- pread response among the masses. The Party ganisations of the Moscow (at that time entral-Industrial) region immediately proceeded organise locally "labour centres" of represen- tives of all the labour organisations; mass bour demonstrations began to take place every- here, demanding arms for themselves (for the ed Guard) and for the soldiers, the arrest of e leaders of the local counter-revolutionary ganisations and the closing of the bourgeois ess which was supporting Kornilov. At the me time tens of deputations began to flood the oscow "organ of revolutionary action," the gional bureau of soviets and the Moscow viet, advancing demands contained in the peals of the leading Moscow Bolshevik organ- tions.

Under the pressure of the masses which came o motion at the first news of the Kornilov con- iracy, the Moscow Mensheviks and Socialist- evolutionaries addressed a proposal to the lsheviks on August 14, to establish a united nt in the struggle against the counter-revolu- n. The Bolsheviks made a primary condition repeal of all repressive measures against the lsheviks and of the regulations issued after the ly events forbidding the Bolsheviks from enter- the barracks of the troops quartered in scow. These demands were complied with d the Bolshevist fraction of the Soviet sent presentatives to the "Sextet of Action," organ- d by the Moscow Soviet from representatives its three fractions.

On August 29, when Kornilov had already rted his rising, the Plenum of the Moscow viet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, gether with the Executive Committee of Peas- Deputies, unanimously resolved to set up an gan of "Revolutionary Action for the Suppres- n of Counter-Revolution," to be known as the ommittee of Nine," which existed until ptember 6. Representatives of the Moscow y Hall, the assistant commissar of the Provi- nal Government, the procurator of the Moscow Court Chamber, the commander of the forces of the Moscow Military District, and two representatives each of the different Moscow soviets composed the membership of this Committee ("Provisional Committee for the Struggle Against the Counter-Revolution"). The Soviet of Workers' Deputies was represented by Khinchuk and Nogin. The Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies—by Muralov and Manievich, and the Soviet of Peasant Deputies—by Pavlov and Vitkovich.

The representative of the Bolshevik fraction declared at the Plenum of the Soviets in connection with the creation of this body that the Bolsheviks

> "have entered the Committee of Nine, not as an expression of confidence in the Provisional Government, nor for the defence or protection of this Provisional Government, but solely for the purpose of a *technical* agreement on the struggle against the approaching dictatorship of Kornilov."

This same Plenum of Soviets passed a resolution demanding that the Provisional Government discontinue its repressions against the Bolsheviks throughout Russia.

The demands formulated in the appeals of the Moscow Committee and Regional Bureau of the Party were supported not only by delegations of individual factories and mills, but also by representatives of the All-City Conference of shop committees of Moscow, which at the meeting of executive committees of the Moscow soviets, held on August 31, strongly insisted upon the immediate solution of the question of the arming of the workers, the arrest and trial of the counter-revolutionary generals, and the suppression of the bourgeois press.

On September 3, the Executive Committee of the Soviets approved a Red Guard Constitution worked out by the Commission, and on the following day the Bolshevik section of the Presidium of the Executive Committee sent copies of this Constitution to the various districts, urging the immediate organisation of fighting units and staffs on the basis of this Constitution, and the appointment of delegates to the central staff.

However, owing to sabotage on the part of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, which was controlled by the Socialist Revolutionaries, the formal approval of this Constitution by the plenums of the soviets took place only on the very eve of the October Revolution (October 24). While this obvious sabotage could not frustrate the organisation of a Red Guard in the districts, nevertheless, by delaying the arming of the Red Guards, it substantially affected

the preparation of an armed uprising, as the Red Guard received sufficient arms only during the actual days of the October fighting.

The backbone of the Red Guard of Moscow consisted of the Bolshevik fighting units, which were organised during the first days of the February Revolution.

The Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries not only sabotaged the decision to arm the workers and create a Red Guard, but even took back the permission to enter the barracks already given to the Bolsheviks. Such speedy violation of obligations undertaken by them was due to the fact that the Moscow Bolsheviks not only quickly succeeded in capturing the sympathies of the masses by their programme and fight against Kornilov, but also in organising and consolidating this growing influence in the factories and barracks.

In Moscow this process of Bolshevisation of the masses was given formal shape in the vote of the Plenum of the Moscow soviets on September 5, when for the first time in Moscow the deputies of both the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets voted in their majority for the programmatic Bolshevik resolution demanding a resolute struggle "for the capture of power by the representatives of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry."

The adoption of the Bolshevik resolution forced the social collaborationist majority in the executive committee and presidiums of both soviets to resign.

On September 19 the election of new executive committees of both soviets was held, on the insistence of the Bolsheviks, on the basis of proportional representation, and gave the Bolsheviks a majority in the executive committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies (32 Bolsheviks, 16 Mensheviks, 9 Socialist-Revolutionaries and 3 "*Obiedinentsi*" (unionists).

In the executive committee of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, however, a majority though not absolute, was again gained by the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who secured 26 places; the Bolsheviks gained 16 places, the Mensheviks 9, and non-party 9. Such a result of the elections was possible only because the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies was composed of the same membership as has been elected in the first days of February Revolution. The demands of the soldiers' masses, of the general meetings of the soldiers of the various units, and of the Bolshevik fraction of the Soviet for new elections of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies were opposed by the Socialist-Revolutionary executive committee. These elections were held only after the October Revolution. This fact could not but seriously influence the tempo of development of the fighting against the Provisional Government.

The sharpening of the revolutionary crisis and the drift of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses of Moscow in the direction of Bolshevism were revealed most strikingly during the municipal elections to the district dumas held on September 24.

In these elections the Bolsheviks received 49 per cent. of the total vote, the Cadets 26 per cent., the Socialist-Revolutionaries 14.6 per cent., the Mensheviks 4.3 per cent., and the non-partisans 5.8 per cent. Thus, the number of votes cast for the Bolsheviks in these elections increased nearly two and a half times compared with the June elections (175,000 votes): the Cadets received 92,300 votes against 109,000 in June, the Socialist-Revolutionaries 51,800 against 375,000, the Mensheviks 15,300 against 76,000 in June.

The elections to the district dumas revealed a particularly striking change of sentiment amongst the soldier masses, 90 per cent. of whose votes were given to the Bolsheviks. This shift among the soldiers, which was a direct result of agitation and organisation, carried out, despite all obstacles, in the garrisons by the Military Bureau of the Bolshevik Party, reflected at the same time the growing revolutionary sentiments amongst the toiling masses of the peasantry.

During the first months of the revolution the Party work of the Bolsheviks in the village was weak, especially in those agricultural regions where the peasantry was influenced by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the poor peasants remained entirely unorganised. The Moscow Regional Bureau of the Party, together with the Military Bureau of the Moscow Committee, decided, in order to improve the organisation in the village, to unite the city workers with the soldiers into *zemliachestva* (organisations of persons originating from the same localities), and use them for directing the work in the village. In this way the connections of the individual workers and soldiers with the village who used to go there for vacations periods were given some organised character.

In the Moscow province, as well as in the whole country, the Socialist-Revolutionaries not only urged the peasants to wait for the solution of the land question until the Constituent Assembly met, but participated directly in punitive expeditions sent out by the Provisional Government to put down peasant revolts. During March to June the Moscow province was backward in the growth of the agrarian movement, but during July-September the place held by the Moscow region

the agrarian movement considerably grew in importance compared with the rest of the country. The growth of the spontaneous agrarian movement testifies to the decline of the influence of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which sought to retard this movement, and persuade the peasants to delay the solution of the land question until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

At the end of September the growth of peasant uprisings in the Moscow province became extremely pronounced, and Lenin wrote (on September 29, 1917) in the article *The Crisis is Ripe*, that under the conditions then existing in Russia these uprisings were a symptom of the approach of the turning-point of the Revolution.

Everything pointed to the fact that the proletarian revolution was going over from the period of mobilisation of forces to the period of storm and direct struggle for power.

In the latter half of September Lenin's historical letter of September 12-14, entitled *The Bolsheviks Must Seize Power*, was received in Moscow. The letter proceeded from the belief that:

"Upon capturing a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of the two capitals, the Bolsheviks can and should take the power over into their own hands . . .

"The question is to make the task clear to the Party: to make the order of the day an *armed uprising* in Petrograd and Moscow (including the province), the capture of the power, the overthrow of the government . . . The power must be captured at once both in Moscow and in Petrograd (it does not matter who will begin, perhaps Moscow should be first) and we will then be *certainly and unquestionably* victorious."

Thus the question of an armed uprising was made the order of the day.

In this connection the Plenum of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the Bolsheviks adopted on September 27-28 a resolution declaring the struggle for the power to be the most important task of the day.

The Plenum urged the creation in the big industrial cities of fighting centres, the establishment between them of close contact and the immediate convocation of an All-Russian Congress of Soviets, where the Bolsheviks would demand the transfer of all power to the Soviets, the transfer of all land to the people, the immediate conclusion of an armistice and the offer of a democratic peace to all the belligerent nations.

Lenin's article, *The Crisis is Ripe*, received at the beginning of October, the sixth chapter of which was intended for distribution among the members of the Central Committee, Petrograd Committee and Moscow Committee, pointed out that "in the Central Committee and among the Party leaders there is a tendency or a view in favour of awaiting the Congress of Soviets against the immediate capture of the power, against an immediate uprising." This tendency, which did not agree with the Central Committee, which together with Lenin urged the necessity of an uprising, was headed by Kamenev and Zinoviev. Nogin and Rykov supported them. Already at the April conference of the Party, Kamenev, in opposing Lenin, delivered a report on behalf of a small group, including a section of the Moscow and Moscow provincial delegation, Comrades Nogin, Rykov, Smidovich, Angarsky, and others. The great influence enjoyed by Comrades Nogin and Rykov among the Bolshevik fraction of the Moscow Soviet could not but adversely affect this section of the fraction which followed them. This group of Bolsheviks, who were deputies of the Moscow Soviet (E. N. Ignatov, Orekhov-Malikov, K. G. Maximov, G. N. Karzinov, Ratekhin, Voznessensky, Burovtsev and others) sought to oppose the Bolshevik fraction of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies to the Moscow Committee of the Party after the October victory as well.*

Even before the Kornilov days (in May) the Moscow Committee, in order to combat this tendency, sent to the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies Comrades G. I. Lomov-Oppokov, A. S. Bubnov, G. A. Usievich, N. I. Bukharin and others.

V. I. Lenin's letters were discussed by the leading workers of the Moscow Party organisations and members of the Regional Bureau of the Party.

One of the conferences discussing the questions raised by Lenin took place in the apartment of V. A. Obuch on *Mertvy pereulok*. Among those present were N. I. Bukharin, M. V. Vladimirsky, O. A. Piatnitsky, A. I. Gussiev, N. N. Zimin, E. Yaroslavsky, G. I. Lomov-Oppokov, V. M. Likhachev, V. A. Obukh, V. V. Ossinsky-Obolensky, V. M. Smirnov, V. N. Yakovleva and others.† Two points of view emerged at the Conference. One of them, supported by O. A. Piatnitsky, was that Moscow

* Comrade Ignatov, in reply to a question of whether the fraction of the Soviets would submit to the Moscow Committee stated as follows: "The Bureau of the Fraction informs the Fraction of the decisions of the M.C., but the Fraction may refuse to submit to its decisions."

† The names of all those present at the Conference cannot be ascertained. Different reminiscences give different names.

cannot take the initiative in an uprising, but can and must support an uprising when it begins in Petrograd. The supporters of this view adduced the following principal arguments: first, the workers of Moscow are poorly armed; second, the Moscow Committee is too weakly connected with the garrison, while the Presidium and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies are controlled by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks; finally, the garrison itself is insufficiently armed.

An opposite view was supported by members of the Regional Bureau, G. I. Lomcx-Oppokov, V. V. Ossinsky-Obolensky and others. They maintained that, in view of the weakness of the Moscow military authorities, even a small force is sufficient to secure the success of an uprising.

The majority of the meetings and a series of other smaller conferences of leading workers of the Regional Bureau and Moscow Committee supported the view that Moscow cannot start the uprising.

However, regardless of the fact that the majority of the leading Moscow comrades took a stand in opposition to Moscow starting the uprising, the entire work of the Moscow Committee as well as of the Moscow Regional Bureau of the Party, after the discussion of V. I. Lenin's September letter, proceeded along the line of preparation and organisation of an uprising. As regards the masses of workers and soldiers, it became more and more clear that they were in favour of the capture of power by the Soviets, of an armed uprising.

How rapidly the Bolshevik slogans were picked up by the masses became particularly clear from the resolutions of the trade unions, shop committees, army units, etc. The Second Conference of shop committees of Moscow and Moscow *uyezd* (district), held on October 16, passed resolutions coinciding, in the main, with those of the Moscow Regional Bureau and Moscow Committee on the current situation and economic dislocation.

By that time the majority of the shop committees in the factories of Moscow and the Moscow *uyezd* were controlled by Bolsheviks. The Presidium of the Conference consisted of seven Bolsheviks and only one Menshevik and one Socialist-Revolutionary.

Upon taking up the organisation of the forces for a direct struggle of power the Moscow Committee, anxious to mobilise the masses for the Revolution, developed a housing, food, and general economic campaign, pointing out a number of concrete revolutionary measures which the masses must demand from the soviets.

The decision of the Moscow Committee adopted on this question on October 7, before the Conference of shop committees, says:

> "The Soviets must carry out these measures regardless of authorisation, by means of decrees, and capture power in this way as well. One of the important conflicts arising out of this practice will raise and force the soviets to decide the question of the capture of the central power."

The resolution of the Central Committee in favour of an uprising (adopted October 10) and Lenin's October letter (of October 3-7) to the Moscow and Petrograd Committees of the Bolsheviks ("if power cannot be captured without an uprising, it is necessary to make the uprising at once") were heatedly discussed by all the active members of the Moscow organisation.

Simultaneously, we received the statement of L. B. Kamenev and G. E. Zinoviev, addressed to the Central Committee, Petrograd Committee, and Moscow Committee, and the fractions of the soviets, which insists upon a "defensive position," rejection of an armed uprising and the necessity of waiting for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly in which the Bolsheviks would have to play the rôle of a "strong opposition organisation." The Moscow organisation of Bolsheviks unhesitatingly rejected the proposal of Kamenev and Zinoviev, believing that it would inevitably lead to the strengthening of the bourgeois democratic parliamentary coalition government, and the collapse of the revolution.

With the adoption of the decision of the Central Committee of the Party calling for an armed uprising, all debates as to whether Moscow can or cannot start the uprising,* whether it is timely or not, came to an end. In this way the chief differences existing between the leading workers of the Moscow Committee and the Regional Bureau of the Party were eliminated.

The Moscow Committee and the Moscow Regional Bureau of the Party proceeded to work out measures for the capture of the power by the Soviets. On October 14, the Moscow Regional Bureau, acting on a report of V. N. Yakovleva, who had just returned from Petrograd, joined without a discussion in the decision of the Central

* On October 8, two days before the historical meeting of the Central Committee which decided the question of the uprising, Lenin, in his letter "To the Comrades Bolsheviks participating in the Regional Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region," wrote:

"Near and in Petrograd—this is where this uprising can and should be decided and carried out in the most serious, best prepared, speedy and energetic manner possible."

By this time Lenin no longer raised (as he did in the article, "The Bolsheviks Must Seize Power" and "The Crisis is Ripe") the question of the possibility of starting the armed uprising in Moscow.

ommittee of the Party passed on October 10, ating that "an armed uprising is inevitable and fully mature," that it is necessary "to discuss nd decide all practical questions from this ngle," and sent the following instructions to ie localities:

1. In solving the conflicts concerning the espatch of troops, disarming of garrisons, etc., rising locally, the local organisations were re-uested to discontinue the previous practice of ompromises so that these conflicts might be rought to the stage of a conflict with the repre-entative of the central authorities, avoiding at ie same time bloody clashes, which are permis-ble only under conditions and in the interests of general offensive.

2. In those parts of the region where power as already in the hands of the Soviets, the local rganisations must conduct a campaign for pro-aiming the power of the Soviets, the power in ie given locality, without, however, going to the oint of bloody clashes.

3. The local organisations were requested to reate labour centres of the type recommended y the Regional Bureau during the Kornilov ays. The big local organisations were to send epresentatives to the smaller organisations of ie same province. The same meeting of the egional Bureau drew up the texts of tentative legrams to each big centre separately, which ere to be sent by the Regional Bureau as a gnal for a general uprising.

To co-ordinate the actions at the time of the rising and lead it, it was decided to set up a arty fighting centre in Moscow, consisting of vo representatives of the Regional Bureau, two presentatives of the Moscow Committee and e representative of the district committee. The arty fighting centre was charged with direction the work and actions of the comrades compos-g the Soviet fighting centre of the Moscow viet, and co-ordination of the entire work at e time of the uprising throughout the province. e Party fighting centre was to be vested with tatorial powers.

The work in the province connected with the lisation of the decision of the Regional Bureau on yielded results. Thus, already on October the Congress of Soviets of Workers' and ldiers' Deputies of the Vladimir *Gubernia*,* ing on a report of a representative of the scow Regional Bureau of the Bolshevik Party, animously and without a debate, declared the ovisional Government and all parties support-it to be a government and parties of treachery the Revolution and betrayal of the people.

County.

In connection with the preparations for an armed uprising the Moscow Committee delegated O. A. Piatnitsky to the Central Committee. He arrived in Petrograd already after the meeting of the Central Committee. There he met Comrades J. M. Sverdlov, J. V. Stalin and had a long conversation with V. I. Lenin, who at that time lived illegally in Petrograd.

Upon returning from Petrograd, O. A. Piatnitsky, on October 18 or 19 (the exact date cannot be ascertained) called an inter-district meeting of the Moscow activists, which was addressed by O. A. Piatnitsky and V. N. Yakovleva. This meeting was held at corner of First Brestskaya Street and Vasillievsky pereulok in the hall of the Party organisation of the railway district.

> "The meeting (which was attended by all the district committees) definitely and resolutely recognised an open armed struggle inevitable. True, there were isolated voices about a shortage of arms, forces, etc., but the Moscow activists almost unanimously supported the view of the Moscow Committee that it was necessary to go over to an armed struggle for the capture of power by the Soviets."*

On October 22 the Moscow Committee of the Party adopted a plan of the reorganisation of the Committee. A number of commissions were appointed, including the fighting body of the Moscow Committee, consisting of a secretariat (M. F. Vladimirsky, O. A. Piatnitsky and I. B. Zivtzivadze), a member of the Military Bureau of the Moscow Committee, and a member of the Commission of the Red Guard, and a Red Guard Commission, which consisted of the district organisers of the Red Guard, and a Military Commission of the M.C.

The District Party Committees have already organised special commissions to work out a plan for the capture of power by the soviets. The Moscow Committee of the Party decided that all commissions set up by the Moscow Committee should include some workers among their members so that when concrete decrees, resolutions, decisions are issued, they would help to formulate the practical aspects in them.

The district meetings which followed the inter-district conference revealed the prevalence of militant sentiments in all districts. At the same time, the struggle throughout the region against the despatch of the revolutionary regiments to the front was growing more and more intense. Already in September the Moscow Military Dis-

* An Outline of the History of the October Revolution in Moscow, by M. Vladimirsky. *The October Days In Moscow*, p. 265.

trict ordered the entire garrison of the city of Wladimir, which was almost completely controlled by the Bolsheviks, to proceed from the city to an unnamed place of destination. The Plenum of the Moscow Regional Bureau, held on September 27-28, instructed the Bolshevist Wladimir Soviet to leave the garrison in Moscow and adopted the following desolution:

"Seeking to preserve all the revolutionary forces for the forthcoming realisation of the slogan, 'All Power to the Soviets,' the Regional Bureau requests all local organisations resolutely to fight against the plan, which is being systematically pursued, for the weakening of the revolutionary centres by the withdrawal from them of the revolutionary army units."

In those places where this decision was carried into effect, the Bolshevist regiments refused to obey the marching orders.

The military organisation of the Moscow Committee, which conducted the work in the units of the Moscow Garrison, and was connected up with the garrisons of the region and with the front, directed its work towards securing the re-election in all the units of the Moscow garrison, first, of the company and then—in October—of the regimental committees. As a result, at the time of the October uprising, the company committees in all the units of the Moscow garrison had been re-elected. As regards the elections of the regimental committees they had been held in only some of the units and were completed only by October 27. The new elections of company committees gave a definite majority to the Bolsheviks already by the end of September. As a result of this work it became possible to oppose the Socialist - Revolutionary - Menshevik Executive Committee of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies by a newly organised force as represented by the garrison meeting of company committees, which subsequently played an important part in the organisation of the mutiny in the Moscow garrison.

A campaign for revolutionary fraternisation between the workers and soldiers was developed in the district. Thus, on the eve of the October uprising the Krasnopressnensky Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in response to a proposal of the Bolsheviks, organised a huge demonstration of the workers of all factories of the district, who with banners and slogans, "All Power to the Soviets," marched to the First Artillery Reserve Brigade quartered at Khodynka, in which the old battery, division and brigade committees had not been re-elected, and organised a great meeting there with the participation of 6,000 soldiers. Following upon the meeting, the soldiers, together with the workers, proceeded with music, banners and revolutionary songs to the Vagankovskoye cemetery, where at the tomb of N. E. Bauman they swore to continue the struggle to the bitter end. The workers of the Michelson plant undertook similar patronage over the 25th reserve infantry regiment.

On October 22 the Military Bureau of the Moscow Committee, together with the Regional Bureau of the Bolshevik Party, called a Regional Conference of military organisations for the purpose of securing unity in the actions throughout the province. This conference clearly revealed the intense hostility of all the garrisons of the region towards Kerensky and the Provisional Government. The news from Petrograd of the speedy development of events made it necessary to close the conference on October 23 without discussing the entire agenda. The delegates had to be on the spot at the decisive moment.

"In the evening of October 23 a Conference (of the Military Bureau of the Moscow Committee) was held with representatives of the districts and military units. The question of the impending armed uprising was discussed. Representatives of the army units maintained without hesitation or doubt that the time was ripe, that it was no longer possible to wait, that the moment was opportune to arouse the soldiers for an armed struggle."*

Thus were brought out the Bolshevik sentiments of all the garrisons of the region and of Moscow itself. In Moscow, however, as stated above, the official leadership of the masses of soldiers still remained in the Socialist-Revolutionary-Menshevik Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, of which only a fourth of the membership were Bolsheviks.

This could not but have influenced the work of the Moscow Military Revolutionary Committee, which was forced, only after its formation, to organise a provisional committee of Soldiers' Deputies, this taking fully three days (October 26, 27 and 28).

The suppression of the soviets in Kaluga, carried out by detachments of Cossacks and cavalry sent from the front, emphasised the necessity of passing immediately to determined action.

On October 25 a Party fighting centre was formed with the following members: V. N. Yakovleva and M. N. Stukov, from the Regional Bureau; M. F. Vladimirsky, O. A. Piatnitsky, from the Moscow Committee; V. I. Soloviev,

* *From February to October*, p. 79. Reminiscences of O. A. Varentzova, who worked in 1917 in the Military Bureau of the Moscow Committee.

om the Moscow District Committee; V. Z. ozelev, from the Central Bureau of trade unions, d E. Yaroslavsky, from the Military Bureau. S. Kieselstein and T. A. Sapronov were pointed candidates by the Regional Bureau and strict Committee respectively.

Subsequently V. N. Podbelsky was appointed ndidate by the Moscow Committee and later cted full member at a special session of the oscow Committee, Regional Bureau and Dis-ct Committee, held on October 26.

To carry out the October Revolution in Moscow d in the Moscow region a Party fighting centre s set up in Moscow even before information s received from Petrograd that the power had en captured by the Soviets, and began to work the morning of October 25, before the election the Moscow Military Revolutionary Com-ttee.

—THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES IN THE FIGHT FOR POWER.

As mentioned above, the Bolshevik fraction, on ptember 5, gained the majority at the joint sion of the Plenum of the Soviets of Moscow d on September 19 in the Executive Committee the Moscow Soviet of Workers' Deputies. e Soviet immediately decided to adopt a new icy, passing from the collaboration of the nsheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries to a olutionary struggle.

The struggle was conducted along two main es: for the organisation and arming of the oletariat and against the policy of the ployers, who took advantage of the economic location to worsen the conditions of the rkers by reducing wages, proclaiming lock-s and effecting mass dismissals.

The struggle of the Soviets for arming the rkers and soldiers began by the demonstration the shop-committees' representatives at the ecutive Committee of the Moscow Soviet, ganised on August 31.

The Presidium of the Soviet of Soldiers' puties, together with the staff of the Moscow litary District, interfered with the arming of workers and the soldiers of the garrison, der various pretexts.

On October 24 the Plenum of the Soviets, spite the objections of the Mensheviks and cialist-Revolutionaries, adopted almost unani-usly, by a vote of 374 against 8, with 27 staining, the Constitution of the Red Guard.

The Bolshevik Fraction of the Soviet submitted the enlarged session of executive committees the soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies h representatives of all the trade unions, a mber of decrees corresponding to the decisions of the conference of shop committees, held on October 16.

The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries opposed the proposal of the Bolshevik fraction urging that a constructive programme should be sent to the Provisional Government. Considering the Party membership of the Executive Committee of Soldiers' Deputies, there was nothing surprising about the fact that the joint executive committee passed the resolution of the social collaborationists by a majority of 46 to 33.*

On October 19 the Bolsheviks again raised the question of "the economic struggle of the workers" at the Plenum of the Soviets, which, following upon a report by N. I. Bukharin and a stormy debate, adopted, by a majority of 332 against 207 and 13 abstaining, the resolution moved by the Bolsheviks.

After the adoption of this resolution the Mensheviks published a statement saying that:

> "The measures proposed by the Bolsheviks . . . represent the complete bankruptcy of Bolshevism and that the decree of the Soviets of compliance with the workers' demands and threatening the arrest of the capitalists, represents a virtual capture of the power in the most unwise form . . . "

On October 24, at a joint meeting of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, N. I. Bukharin made public the following decree No. 1 and an appeal to the entire toiling population which had been adopted by the Executive Committee:—

> "1. Workers are engaged and discharged by the administration of the firm with the consent of the shop committee. In case of the latter's dissent the question is submitted to the District Soviet of Workers' Deputies, whose decision is binding to both parties. Pending a final decision neither the engagement nor the discharge are regarded as valid.
>
> "2. Engagement and discharge of employees can be carried out only with the consent of the employees' committee.
>
> "3. The said regulations are compulsory upon all enterprises in the City of Moscow . . .
>
> "Those guilty of violating these regulations will be dealt with by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in the most resolute manner, even down to their arrest."

In an appeal to the soldiers, workers and

* The Bolshevik fraction of the executive committees of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies had 43 votes, while the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had 60 votes. In addition, there were three internationalists on the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and nine non-partisans on the E.C. of the Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies.

peasants the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies explained why it had decided to interfere with the struggle of the capitalists against the workers and shop committees and exposed a plan of trustified capital supported by the landlords. The appeal ended with a call to be ready to respond to the attack of capital by a concerted and powerful counter-attack all along the front.

The news of the crushing of the Kaluga Soviet received in Moscow on October 21 aroused a storm of indignation among the masses of workers and soldiers of Moscow and the region.

The "Social-Democrat" on October 24th sharply attacked the counter-revolutionary thugs in an article entitled *Civil War Has Begun*:

> "War has been declared," says the article. "In Kaluga the Soviets have been suppressed, their members arrested and some, it is rumoured, shot. The city is run by the Cossacks who were sent by the order of the Provisional Government from the western front. The thing is clear, the government has declared civil war and has already won a victory in Kaluga. What we prophesied has come true. This time it is not Kornilov, but Kerensky, who at the head of the capitalist scoundrels, is openly attacking the people, whom he for seven months had humbugged by his speeches . . . Kerensky and his agents are our open enemies: no negotiations with them. One does not talk to enemies but fights them . . Immediate resistance must be offered. The time for conversations is past . . . "

On October 25, while the Moscow Committee of the Party was establishing fighting centres of the Party and Soviets, a conference was held of representatives of the bureaux of all the fractions of the Soviet, at which the mayor Rudniev, a Socialist-Revolutionary, announced the events in Petrograd.

The conference adopted the following draft resolution in the name of the Bureaux of all the fractions of the Soviets for the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet, scheduled to be held on the same day at 3 p.m.:

> "To restore revolutionary order in Moscow and protect the city against every counter-revolutionary attempt a provisional democratic body is created of representatives of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, the city administration, the Zemstvo, the staff of the district, the All-Russian Railwaymen's Union and Post and Telegraph Workers' Union."

The position of the representatives of the Bolshevik fraction during the discussion of this resolution at the Bureaux of all the fractions of the Soviets cannot be ascertained with full clarity. Apparently while not objecting in principle to this resolution, the Fraction limited itself to objecting to the mode of representation of the different parties on the committee created.

The decision of the Moscow Committee of the Party was in sharp discord with the collaborationists and the soothing decision of the Bureau of the different fractions of the Soviets; for the Moscow Committee instructed the Bolshevik fraction of the Soviets to immediately create a soviet fighting centre of three Bolsheviks, one representative of the Red Guard (a Bolshevik), one Menshevik, one Socialist-Revolutionary and one representative of the staff of the Moscow Military District. This decision of the Moscow Committee was not known to the representatives of the Bolshevik fraction at the time of the meeting of the Bureau.

In opening the session, the Chairman, P. G. Smidovich, insisted in his speech upon a unanimous decision of the question of the organisation of the government in Moscow, basing himself apparently upon the draft resolution for the creation of a *coalition* democratic government, adopted at the conference of the Bureaux of the various fractions of the Soviet.

The draft of the "conciliation" resolution concerning the composition of the government was entirely out of harmony with the decision of the Moscow Committee, and the sentiments of the Bolshevik fraction of the Plenum and in complete conflict with the line of the Bolshevik Party. At the meeting of the fraction of the Plenum this draft was subjected to sharp criticism. The representatives of the Bureau of the Bolshevik fraction were told that the resolution adopted by them not only conflicted with the line of the Party and was in disharmony with the political situation, but might serve in poor stead to the Petrograd workers, who had already started the uprising. A section of the comrades continued to defend the "conciliatory" resolution, pointing out that the Bolsheviks might get a majority in the government which it has been decided to organise.

The overwhelming majority voted against the "conciliatory resolution" and adopted the following resolution instead:

> "The Moscow Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies elect at this meeting a revolutionary committee of seven members. This revolutionary committee is authorised to co-opt representatives of other revolutionary-democratic organisations and groups with the approval of the Plenum of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The revolutionary committee begins to act immediately,

making it its task to render the utmost assistance to the revolutionary committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."

Two policies, the Bolshevik policy and the collaborationist policy, fought at the Plenum of the Soviets on October 25: the first for support of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison, the second for the betrayal of the struggle under the pretext of awaiting the developments of the Petrograd events. This struggle continued even after the great majority of the Plenum of the Soviets, upon electing a military-revolutionary committee, issued an appeal to the Moscow workers, not to allow the Petrograd proletariat to be defeated, and to help it by all means to gain the victory.

On the night of October 25 to 26 the Moscow Committee of the Menshevik organisation, urging "to conduct a strugle against the mad policy of the capture of the power by the Soviets alone" . . . "against the adventurist policy of the Bolsheviks," sought to make the workers believe that it is prepared "to fight to the utmost against every attempt to suppress the movement of the workers and soldiers by armed force and against all repressions against revolutionary democracy."

The treacherous and hypocritical programme of the Mensheviks on the eve of October predetermined the rôle of their representatives on the military-revolutionary committee, which they joined not "to help capture the power for the soviets, but in order to fight within the military-revolutionary committee itself for its replacement by a general democratic and revolutionary body."

The double-dealing policy of the Mensheviks was in some measure responsible for the indecision displayed during the first days of the uprising by its leadership in Moscow.

* * *

In summing up the preparations of the Moscow Bolsheviks for the October uprising, and the struggle for the power of the Soviets, it must be admitted that between the active workers of the Moscow organisation on the one hand, and the members of the Regional Bureau of the Bolshevik Party on the other, there were serious differences on the question of the capture of the power during the process of the mobilisation of the forces and preparations for the uprising. The leading workers of the Regional Bureau, for the first time, advanced the question of the capture of power as early as July 4, 1917, as soon as the news of the July demonstration in Petrograd was received in Moscow. They then proposed to occupy the post and telegraph offices, seize the editorial offices and printshop of the "Russkoye Slovo," etc. The Moscow Committee rejected this proposal. It was right in this, as the great masses of the proletariat did not even come out to the demonstration appointed by the Moscow Committee for the July days. On the other hand, the leading comrades of the Moscow organisation underestimated the necessity of preparing the Party members and the masses of workers and soldiers for the capture of power, especially after these masses began to display a change of feelings during the Moscow State Conference. There were also differences between th Moscow Committee and the members of the Bolshevik fractions of the executive committees of the Soviets; among the members of these fractions there were comrades who were generally opposed to the idea of an uprising and who regarded the transfer of power to the Soviets as a peculiar stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The leading workers of the Moscow Committee and regional bureau jointly fought against this opportunist tendency. But it was only after the October battles that it was exposed completely.

Only after the receipt of V. I. Lenin's letter, in which he pointed out the possibility and necessity of beginning the uprising in Moscow, did the Moscow Committee adopt the policy of direct preparations for an uprising.

Among the mistakes committed during the preparations for the uprising, it is necessary to underline the following: Insufficient attention was given to the work among the soldiers, and to ascertaining which units could be fully relied upon at the time of the uprising, and the struggle for the re-election of the Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies was conducted with insufficient energy, as the result of which, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries remained in the Presidium and the Executive Committee of Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies.

In consequence of these mistakes, the fighting centre elected by the Moscow Committee on October 22 failed to take up its work until October 25. For the same reason the Party fighting centre, elected by the Moscow Committee, Moscow Regional Bureau and the District Committee of the Party on October 25 was compelled to take up the direct leadership of the uprising as soon as it learned of the Petrograd events, without preliminary preparations.

(To be continued.)

FOR WHAT DID GERMAN FASCISM REQUIRE THE ELECTION COMEDY (NOVEMBER 12, 1933)?

ON November 12 the super-bandits of the Third Empire staged an election comedy which is unprecedented in the history of falsification and provocation anywhere in the world. This exhibition, which combines brutal terrorism with the clumsiest falsification, is comparable only to the sanguinary farce of the Leipzig trial of the incendiaries. *At Leipzig the "truth" was ascertained with the help of criminals and bribed witnesses, and in the elections it was these same "gentlemen" who "counted" the ballots.* The same methods were applied in both cases—forgery, terrorism and provocation, and in both cases it was made clear to the whole world that the ministerial posts in Germany are occupied by a band of criminals, incendiaries and cut-throats, and that this gang is carrying out the orders of monopoly capital, applying all the methods of government coercion in its crusade against the German proletariat and its vanguard, the Communist Party — against the entire working population of Germany.

The Fascist Press disseminates the statement that Hitler obtained 39 million votes. This is, of course, utterly ridiculous. In November, 1932, at the last elections before Hitler's advent to power, the National Socialist Party of Germany polled 11 million votes. In these nine months of Hitler dictatorship it has become clear to the masses that Fascism cannot, and does not intend, to carry out a single one of its promises. During this period terrorism and increasing destitution have convinced even the fanatical supporters of Fascism of the utter worthlessness of the promises which were made to them of a Third Empire paradise. A marked process of fermentation can be observed even in the mass organisations of Fascism. Both the internal and the external policy of Fascism have collapsed, it has won the unspeakable hatred of the working class, and its own supporters have become disillusioned. And now the miracle has happened —39 million votes polled for Hitler!

In the elections on March 5, the Nazis resorted to all methods of terrorism and fraud. For example, in Pomerania the number of votes cast exceeded the number of voters by 62,000. In East Prussia, the percentage of voters suddenly jumped to 97 per cent., although ordinarily the percentage of those voting is 5 per cent. below the average. By November 12, the Fascists succeeded in "perfecting" their election methods.

The Berlin correspondents of foreign bourgeois papers devote whole columns to accounts of how the election comedy was organised. Each voter had to hand his ballot to an official dressed in the Storm Troop uniform and register his name and address. The official then handed in the ballot paper with a note to the effect that the person in question had voted for Hitler. Each voter had every reason to believe that the Fascist officials violated the secrecy of the ballot. Anyone voting against Fascism had to be prepared for the concentration camp, for the charge of high treason, and for all the disagreeable experiences resulting from the "humane" treatment meted out in the Storm Troop barracks. In fact, it was officially announced that any person writing "no" on his ballot would be treated as a traitor to his fatherland. Even the conservative "Daily Express" was forced to admit that "although the voting bore the external appearance of secrecy, there was no doubt that great courage was required to vote against Hitler to-day." The foreign press headed the reports of the elections with the words, "Three million heroes voted no."

It is not difficult to picture to oneself the real results of the elections when it is considered that, under such circumstances, the Fascists were forced, in spite of everything, to admit that 3.4 million voted against. It is clear to everyone that *these 3.4 million votes against are but a small fraction of the actual number of anti-Fascist votes cast.* The election returns so far received from various proletarian sections expose the true character of the "elections." For example, even the Fascist radio announcer was forced to state that in Prenzlau, a proletarian section of Berlin, 950 voters out of a total of 1,600 voted *no.*

The Fascist fakers were forced to admit that 3.4 million voters cast their ballots for Thaelmann. They have to recognise the fact that in spite of unprecedented terrorism, over 3 million votes were cast against the Fascist dictatorship, for the proletarian revolution. This is a partial admission of the strength of Communism in Germany, which has been declared dead a thousand times, and this admission, wrung from Fascism by the votes of the proletariat, speaks for itself.

It is quite clear that the Fascist election comedy did not fulfil the purposes for which it was

intended in the slightest degree, either in the field of home or foreign politics.

But what was the actual meaning of the election comedy of November 12th?

After the parliamentary elections on March 5, carried out by the Fascist cut-throats and provocateurs with the help of the burning of the Reichstag, they proclaimed to the whole world that these would be the last elections in Germany, that after this it would no longer be necessary to resort to the tumult of elections, and that an end had been put once and for all to the despicable methods of subordinating the "heroic" minority to the electoral whims of the "stupid and low" plebeian majority. The 51 per cent. majority required by bourgeois public opinion they obtained by means of provocation, savage terrorism and acts of vengeance against the revolutionary working class, and by falsifying the election returns, thus providing security for the "monolithic" Fascist parliament. Now, suddenly, after eight months of uninterrupted "victories," when only Fascist public opinion was allowed to exist in the country, and when the only legal press is the Fascist Press, Hitler and Co. call for "elections" to the Reichstag on November 12, at the same time conducting a Fascist plebiscite.

What are the motives which inspired this comedy of November 12? *First of all it is a sign of the instability, weakness and lack of self-confidence of the Fascist dictatorship, which is lost in a maze of contradictions and has suffered one reverse after another both in the field of home and foreign politics.* The comedy of November 12 was based first of all on *internal considerations,* for it is only the renegade panic-mongers who fail to see that the Fascist dictatorship, which seemed to them to be immovable, and solidly established for a long time to come, is now, after eight months of rule, *far weaker than it was in March,* when the Nazis had just come into power. The comedy of November 12 was staged in order to strengthen the rickety basis of the Fascist dictatorship.

The withdrawal of Fascist Germany from the League of Nations may, at first sight, appear to be an intensification of the active struggle for a Fascist revision of the Versailles system. In actual fact the Fascist government is *more ready than any other government of bourgeois Germany to put through a deal with imperialist England, France and even Poland,* if, by that means, it can strengthen its dictatorship inside the country and *force armament* against the "Bolshevik danger in the East," against the Soviet Union and strengthen the terror against the Bolshevik enemy within the country, which, though it has been driven underground, has not been beaten, but is gaining strength.

We repeat, that the elections of November 12 and the plebiscite with regard to withdrawal from the League of Nations were calculated primarily to produce a wave of chauvinism by means of new adventures and provocations. It was hoped in this manner to divert the disillusionment which was spreading throughout the country, and had caught in its sway, vast numbers of former supporters from the petty-bourgeois camp, who had taken all the false promises which the Fascists had made before coming into power, seriously, and were now coming to realise that they had been taken in by the Fascists. No other Fascist movement in post-war Europe has succeeded in establishing *such a mass basis among the petty-bourgeois* as has the German Fascist movement. Not in Poland, not in Hungary, and not even in Italy have the Fascists been able to build up such a mass basis as in Germany. There is not another country where the Fascist movement *has made such use of social and national demagogy as have the German Fascists for the last fourteen years.* No Fascist movement in Europe *has publicly violated all its promises as speedily,* or has been discredited in the eyes of the masses as quickly as the German Fascist movement since its coming into power.

This is not by any means due to the Prussian clumsiness of Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and others, but is the result of the *international situation* in which German Fascism is forced to play its part. The first wave of Fascism which spread through Europe (Hungary, Italy and even Poland), came just *after the defeat of the working class,* in the period of the first round of wars and revolutions, and coincided with the beginning of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The second wave of Fascisation, which arose in Germany, is spreading through Europe in the midst of an economic crisis which has no equal in the history of capitalism, at a time when the world has reached a new round of wars and revolutions, when imperialist contradictions have sharpened to the limit, and when imperialist war has already begun in the Far East. History has assigned to Fascism to-day a *far shorter period* than was the case during the relative stabilisation of capitalism. The Fascist dictatorship is exposed as the reactionary open dictatorship of monopoly capital. Whereas intervention, at the time, resulted in the routing of the white armies, a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union to-day when the capitalist world is going to pieces, and the Soviet Union has become tremendously strong, involves the most serious dangers for the imperialists. *Consequently, war must be pre-*

pared for more carefully, especially now that strong bolshevised Communist parties are working against the imperialists from the rear, which was not the case in 1918. This is what Hitler, Goering and Co. must take into consideration when they make their plans for an attack on the Bolshevik state.

Eight months have passed since the Fascists came into power in Germany, and the national-socialist "revolution" faded in the bud. Although during the early stages the Fascist dictatorship was forced, under the pressure of the petty-bourgeois mass demanding the fulfilment of the demagogic promises made it, to resort to the manoeuvre of placing all manner of commissars in the factories, banks and other enterprises, letting them try their hand at administration and experimentation, one word of protest on the part of the bigwigs of finance capital was sufficient to bring forth one decree after another from the Fascist government, reminding the petty-bourgeois simpletons of the fact that *the rulers of Fascist Germany are the capitalists, the bankers and the landlords, and no one else.* All the hubbub raised by the pseudo-theoreticians of Fascism about a "new" government of "estates" and about the corporative state, faded in the bud. Instead of a corporative state there was an Economic Council of the Third Empire, comprised of the most reactionary representatives of heavy industry, banking capital and also the landlords headed by Krupp, Thyssen, Klöckner, Siemens and others. The functions of this council were soon recognised. During the past six months it has succeeded in wringing from the working class, without formal wage-cuts, billions of marks of super-profits by an onslaught on the last vestiges of the social conquests of the working class, left after the offensive of Hermann Mueller and Bruening. Even these billions failed to bring about an *improvement in the economic position of German capitalism* under the Fascist dictatorship. The degree of exploitation became higher, but the general economic level was lower than in 1931. Exports fell off 20 per cent., and the purchasing power of the population decreased, while the only branch of industry to flourish was the war industry, which is going ahead at a feverish pace. By August, 1933, the output of cast iron as compared with August, 1932, increased from 268,000 tons to 473,000 tons, while the output of steel went up from 417,000 tons to 706,000 tons, and rolled iron from 300,000 to 575,000 tons. *This fifty per cent. increase in output in heavy industry is accompanied by a simultaneous decrease in the machine building industry, which means that it is solely due to the enlivenment in the war industry and to orders for army equipment from Japan.* The cement industry has tripled its output, while building is at a standstill throughout the country. This cement is being used for big military strongholds, particularly in East Prussia, where the front zone is being strengthened with concrete. All the lies that are spread about the abolishment of unemployment cannot hide the fact that there was a new increase in unemployment this autumn, and that all indications point to an army of eight million unemployed this winter. Fascist statistics, which proclaim that unemployment has been abolished, omit the sending of 300,000 unemployed youth to forced labour camps and the sending out of a quarter of a million skilled German workers to be used as unpaid labour by the landlords, especially in East Prussia, which has always peasants coming from Poland for what they can earn in the fields of the East Prussian estates. One hundred thousand workers are being subjected to torture in the concentration camps, and as many more have fled from Fascist terrorism to other countries. Several thousand workers are employed on the building of canals, strategic roadways and bridges. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been cut off from all insurance. Particularly difficult is the situation of the working women, who are being discharged on a mass scale and are being cut off from all social insurance. The price of margarine in Berlin has jumped 140 per cent. Before Hitler came into power the cheapest grade of margarine was 25 pfennigs. It is now 66 pfennigs. Unsalted butter has gone up 30 per cent., meat has gone up 25 per cent., sugar has gone up 30 per cent., etc. The protectionist policy of German Fascism in the field of agriculture has only hastened the process which was begun by German imperialism with the aid of the social-democratic government of Hermann Mueller and the Bruening government. Taking into account the experience of the imperialist war, when Germany collapsed for want of supplies, Germany has now introduced a *forced intensification of agriculture and a change in crops,* with a view to increasing the proportion of grain crops. While in 1926 German agriculture supplied 70 per cent. of the nation's demand for grain products, this demand was covered 100 per cent. in 1932-33 by home-grown grain. In this connection it is, of course, necessary to take into account the lowering of the standard of living of the masses during this period. The promise made to the peasantry of agrarian reform, the re-settlement and home colonisation plans, the abolishment of "interest serfdom" and the annulment of debts—all this has been thrown over-

oard. The peasantry, which, like the petty-ourgeoisie, was expecting the rapid improve-ent of its situation, is now beginning to express s discontent in more and more unmistakable rms.

The petty bourgeoisie in the towns—the shop-eepers, and handicraft traders, to whom the ascists had promised the abolition of the epartment stores, tax reductions, etc., were at e start drawn into the great wave of anti-mitism, in the hope that pogroms would lead a change in their wretched social conditions. ut anti-semitism, which was used as bait for the tty-bourgeois masses, did not alter the fact that ever were the big capitalist department stores d banks, which were partly owned by Jewish pitalists, so carefully guarded as now by the ry Fascists who, at one time, broke the win-ows of these department stores. The Fascists aced several hundred thousand of their mem-rs in the state and local government apparatus place of discharged social-democratic and atholic officials and employees. But this in no ay alleviated the misery prevailing among the illions of employees, teachers and students who ere unable to find employment anywhere. In e workers' quarters and in the market places e small traders, whose profits do not exceed 2 marks a day because of the poverty of the orking class, are expressing their discontent th the capitalist policy of the Fascist govern-ent.

This discontent was bound to cross the thresh-l of the mass organisations of Fascism, the S.B.O. (the National Socialists' factory organ-ation) and the Storm Troops, in which the rcentage of semi-proletarian elements was atively high. The resolutions of these organ-utions, demanding the fulfilment of the pro-amme of the National Socialists, namely, the tionalisation of industry and of the banks, d the closing down of the department stores, ve led to mass arrests and in some cases the rder of members of this armed bulwark of the scist dictatorship.

The Fascist government, in carrying out the licy of finance capital, naturally foresaw this ocess of inevitable disillusionment among the sses of its supporters, and is attempting to velop *a wave of chauvinism unprecedented in rmany,* and thus divert the discontent of the sses with the social policy of the Fascist vernment into political adventures abroad.

If, on the one hand, the Fascists stage one auvinist demonstration after the other (the remburg Congress, the Saar demonstrations, Schlageter festival, etc.), they have on the er, gradually changed their tone in their external political negotiations, *signing pacts with powers which before coming into power it threatened with "a war of annihilation."* Attempts to come to terms with the British die-hards have so far been unsuccessful, because England, under pressure from France, could not risk losing its French ally in its struggle against the United States. Sir John Simon, British Minister for Foreign Affairs publicly and unequivocally stated that if Germany attempts to take matters into her own hands and violate the Versailles Treaty, England will support sanctions against her. It is a long time since the British Government has adopted such language with regard to Germany. Even Italy, in spite of its friendship with Fascist Germany, gave Papen, Goering and others to understand very clearly that Italy would put up a determined resistance to any adventure directed towards the union of Austria with Germany, providing Germany with access to the Balkan markets and again opening the great route of pre-war German imperialism to the Near East (Bagdad), strengthening Germany and bringing the German frontier guards down to Brenner (on the Italian border). Before coming to power, Hitler stated in his book, "My Struggle":

> "Only when it is recognised in Germany that Germany's will to live cannot be stifled by passive defence alone, and when we prepare her *for final, active vengeance on France,* in order to throw off Germany's last chains in this decisive struggle—only then will we be able to put an end to this age-long and unfounded struggle between ourselves and France; of course, *under the one condition that Germany looks upon the annihilation of France merely as a means,* in order to subsequently provide our people with the possibility of expansion in other fields." (Hitler: "My Struggle.")

Propaganda for a war of vengeance against France was for many years a symbol of faith of German Fascism. With such slogans it rallied under its banners millions of the gullible petty bourgeoisie, who had been ruined by the Versailles Treaty. And now Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda in the Fascist government, in opening the election campaign, *goes into a state of exaltation about Germany's good-will towards France,* declaring that Germany has no war-like ambitions whatsoever with regard to France, and begs France as its neighbour across the Rhine to have faith in the sincerity and good-will of the German Government.

> "And now they begin to argue with me, both the French, and the 'benevolent' Germans, declaring that *it is difficult,* that *it is impossible, and that it cannot be done.* (Come

to terms with France.—A.K.) That it is difficult, I know very well, *but that it is impossible, I doubt very much.*" (Goebbels' speech at the Sport Palace, October 20, 1933.)

Hitler and Goering, standing knee-deep in the blood of the German workers, and preparing feverishly for war, have suddenly become "angels of peace." Their election speeches are filled with talk about peace, Pacifism, disarmament and accord between nations. All these Pacifist phrases are aimed at covering up the tremendous sharpening of the contradictions between the imperialists and the intensification of preparations for imperialist war and above all, war against the Soviet Union.

The extent to which the Fascist government is ready to sell itself to England and France, and the mistrust with which these imperialist governments look upon this "good-will" of the German Fascists, was recently expressed by the leading organ of German heavy industry — the "Rheinische Westphalische Zeitung" of October 29:

> "This has not been understood abroad, for if it had been, the French would never have answered the sincere peace proposal of our Chancellor with the words: 'He is simply trying to draw us away from our British ally.' But if you ask the British how in their opinion peace can be established in Europe, they invariably reply: 'Come to terms with the French!' So what is there for us to do?"

This sums up the achievements of the Fascist government in fulfilling its promises in the field of foreign and home politics. It is only in this light that it is possible to understand the adventurist gesture of this Fascist gang, which is caught in the claws of contradictions, and which hoped, by withdrawal from the League of Nations and staging its election comedy, to bolster up its declining authority and prestige in the eyes of the masses.

At the same time the Fascist rulers hoped, by means of their "plebiscite," which was supposed to be a Pacifist affair, to prove to the powers of Versailles the "unanimous will" of the German nation to arm itself. And by separate negotiations they hoped to attain the assent of these powers to the arming of Germany for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In Germany there is only one force, one party which the Fascists have not succeeded in bringing to its knees—the Communist Party of Germany. This is the only party in Germany which has never ceased for a moment to struggle and mobilise the millions of workers, and draw over to its side the petty bourgeois elements in the towns and in the villages to combat the bloody Fascist dictatorship of Hitler and Co. In spite of the savage terrorism, which has no precedent in the history of the Labour Movement, this party is gaining strength from day to day, rapidly recovering from the blow received by the revolutionary Labour Movement when the Fascist dictatorship was set up, breaking through the Fascist monopoly of the press, organising and rallying all anti-Fascist forces in Germany, unmasking every step of the Fascist dictatorship and setting an example to the millions of workers, not only in Germany but throughout the world, of its devotion to Communism, and of its heroic fearlessness and self-sacrifice. Hundreds, thousands of Lüttgens, battling against the fascist cut-throat dictatorship, just as the executioner's axe was about to fall on their heads, proudly and courageously hurled in the face of the enemy the bitter hatred of millions, calling upon these millions to struggle unswervingly for the final victory of the proletarian revolution.

The fact that this heroic work is drawing in ever wider elements of workers cannot be overlooked even by the fascist hack-writers. Tens of thousands of Communists are heading the struggle of the working class, which is growing more and more active. They are becoming more and more successful in their efforts to establish contacts with the millions of workers, and beginning with isolated protests and continuing through agitational and propaganda work, they are organising a wave of strikes, demonstrations and acts of protest against the fascist dictatorship. *And every strike movement, even the smallest, every new manifestation of struggle on the part of the working class under conditions of fascist terrorism, is of far greater significance than formerly.* At the same time, in this atmosphere loaded with combustible material, any spark may burst into a flame of proletarian revolt.

Only recently, the fascist, "Deutsche Tages Zeitung" stated in a leading article:

> "In recent times mass meetings of workers and employees have been taking place, which are being utilised for bringing up questions of wages *in such a manner as to endanger the stability of existing relations*" ("D.T.," October 22nd, 1933).

The fascist newspaper in this case was merely generalising what is being repeated more frequently in the factories. An event which occurred recently in the big Hannesmann metal works of the Lower Rhine is not an isolated occurrence, but one of many, showing that the Communists, by their courageous activity, have succeeded in rousing the masses of workers to action. When the management announced a 15 per cent. wage cut, 800 workers, at the initiative of the Red

dc Union Opposition, elected a delegation of persons and demanded that the management ul the wage-cut decision, threatening a strike. e fascist party bureaucrats, who were called in n the neighbourhood and requested the kers to return to work and settle the conflict a friendly manner, evoked the indignation of workers. *The masses went on strike and, in e of terrorism and intimidation, led it to a orious conclusion,* forcing the management to hdraw its demand. This led to the complete akdown of the fascist organisation in this fac- and to the political and organisational con- dation of the Communists and the R.T.U.O. the plant. We repeat, that this is not an ated instance. Such examples could be given n Berlin, Hamburg, Stettin and other cities of many.

Cases are increasing of *political action in the tories* against compulsory participation in fas- demonstrations, and against fascist deduc- ns from wages, taking the form in some cases *militant political demonstrations on the streets Leipzig, Berlin and other cities.* The Leipzig l was planned as an elaborate provocation inst the Communist Party. It had, however, opposite effect. *The courageous stand of the mmunists at the trial, especially the heroic ech of accusation made by Comrade Dimitroff, the mask from the faces of the murderers, vocateurs and incendiaries, rallying and mobi- ng millions of workers,* and brilliantly showing social-democrat workers how the Communists duct themselves, being able to hold aloft the ner of Communism even in the fascist prisons l before the fascist court.

t is in this atmosphere that the fascist plebis- and the election comedy took place. What e the tactics of the German Communists for vember 12th? From the very first days of the hdrawal of Germany from the League of tions and the preparations for the election nedy, the Communist Party explained to the sses what these adventures signified. The nificance of November 12th for the C.P.G. lies the fact that *it afforded an opportunity to ise this fascist farce to raise the anti-fascist ggle to a still higher level.* The German Com- nists explained to the masses that whatever result of the "election," the fascists, by orting to forgery, terrorism, violence, decep- n and lies, *would declare it to be a victory for mselves.* The German Communists, without ing any illusions in this matter, *called upon masses to go to the ballot box and courage- ly write on the fascist ballots the word "No."* y explained to every worker that *only the Com- nist Party is struggling for the revolutionary abolition of the Versailles system,* while Hitler and Co., setting themselves the task of bringing about an imperialist revision of Versailles, are making pacts with the Versailles bandits. *It is only the Communists who have been and still are the sole enemies and opponents of the League of Nations,* while Hitler and Goering, with their manoeuvring, are merely playing for a more advantageous place in the League of Nations, that staff of the world imperialists and organisers of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. By voting *against, the German workers voted against the revision* of the Versailles Treaty by the fascist method, which is tantamount to imperialist war. By voting against, urged the C.P.G., the German workers would be voting *against the fascist dictatorship, for proletarian dictatorship, for a workers' state, for a Soviet Germany.* Every worker voting against, would give the fascist dictatorship a slap in the face, and no forgeries or deception can weaken this anti-fascist demonstration of the German proletariat, because that worker, and his comrades in the shop where he works, or at his labour exchange, or in his office would know how they voted. The C.P.G., in calling upon the workers to vote against the fascist plebiscite, at the same time called upon them to put a cross across the only ticket permitted to be put up in the election, and thereby vote for proletarian revolution.

At the present stage of the anti-fascist struggle the slogan of boycott of the elections and the plebiscite would have been incorrect. *The anti-fascist wave has not yet reached such a pitch as to successfully break up the fascist farce by means of the boycott.* The situation prevailing in the country is not the same as that which existed in Russia in 1905, at the time of the elections for the Bulygin Duma, when the Bolsheviks boycotted the elections. The anti-fascist struggle, thanks to the heroism of the vanguard of the German proletariat, is approaching, *and will soon reach a stage in which such comedies and farces can be broken up by the masses of the population.*

The social fascists, who crawled on their bellies before Hitler, by voting on May 17th for his foreign policy, by breaking down the will of the masses to struggle against the establishment of the fascist dictatorship, by sending out emissaries through the whole world to deny, at Hitler's order, the existence of bloody terrorism in Germany, and by turning the trade unions over to the fascist dictatorship, became "frightfully oppositionist" with regard to Hitler. They decided also to vote against—not because they were in favour of revolutionary methods of struggle against the fascist dictatorship, but because for fourteen years in succession *they had*

idealised and supported the League of Nations, which they now look upon as the bulwark of peace. However, Hitler only had to hint in his pre-election speech that he was ready to stretch out his hand to his former enemies and forget the past, for the social fascists to visualise the elections of November 12th as the "one ray of light in the surrounding darkness" ("Neuer Vorwaerts," October 29th, 1933).

It is the task of the Communists in all countries, especially in France, England and Poland, *to strengthen their support of the heroic struggle of the German Communist Party,* which is fighting in the first firing-line of the world revolution. They must support the German Communist Party, *popularise its courageous internationalism,* and struggle against the fascist emissaries of the German government who have been sent out all over the world, and *thus, at the same time, strengthen their struggle against the spread of fascism in their own countries,* which is being promoted by the bourgeoisie and social fascists under the deceptive slogans of defence of democracy against Communism. The international solidarity of the proletariat in its struggle against fascism, war and in defence of the Soviet Union, must be particularly strengthened during these coming days, when the fatherland of the international proletariat, the Soviet Union, is to celebrate the 16th Anniversary of the proletarian dictatorship, and stands out like a granite rock in the capitalist sea of chaos, ruin, crisis, unemployment, starvation and misery.

In this struggle the Communists of all countries, and the Communists of Germany in particular, must intensify ten times over their *proletarian pressure for the liberation of Comrade Dimitroff and the other prisoners on trial, who are in greatest danger,* in spite of their complete innocence, which is recognised even by bourgeois public opinion throughout the world, *because their heads are needed by the fascist cut-throats to ferment a wave of murderous terrorism. The lives of these Communists are in the greatest danger.* The fate of these prisoners, and the fate of Comrade Thaelmann, beloved leader of the German proletariat, lie in the hands of the world proletariat. The Communists must realise that it is only their self-sacrifice, their pressure, their courage and their ability to mobilise millions of workers for struggle and build up a united front, above all, with the social democratic workers — *only this pressure from millions of workers can avert new crimes which the fascists are preparing.*

The fascist plebiscite shows the whole working class, especially the social democratic workers, the state of degeneration of bourgeois democracy, so highly praised by the heroes of the Second International. It is only a proletarian dictatorship, won through victorious armed uprising, that can free the proletariat from the horrors of fascist dictatorship.

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the Leninist line against any deviation from it, against opportunists and renegades. Katayama knew how to unite his main task —the fight of the Japanese proletariat, of which he was initiator and leader—with all the tasks of the proletarian world movement.

Before his eyes he always saw the robber countenance of Japanese imperialism. He thought at all times of the hundreds of thousands of bent backs of the Japanese women textile workers, who were sold into slavery of the factory by their starving peasant fathers. At all times he thought of the unbearably hard, humiliating and slavish conditions of the Japanese workers.

Katayama has left our ranks as a soldier devoted right up to death to the revolution. He has departed from us in the firm conviction that the cause to which he devoted his whole life, his entire strength, has become the cause of the foremost ranks of the Japanese proletariat.

The Communist Party of Japan, as well as its leader and organiser, is the flesh and blood of the Japanese workers and peasants. The fascist camarilla has converted the country into a military prison for the workers and peasants, has seized Manchuria and North China in throttling grip, and is feverishly arming for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. General Araki tortures the Japanese revolutionaries in his dungeons; every outburst of proletarian protest calls forth the most savage persecution. Nevertheless, the ranks of the Japanese Leninists and Bolsheviki are increasing in strength and being steeled. The founder of the first workers' newspaper in Japan, Katayama died in the consciousness that in spite of the repressive measures of the Japanese bourgeoisie, new numbers of the illegal Communist newspaper "Sekki" are being distributed in thousands of copies in the factories and workers' quarters, that the Communist Party of Japan, under the leadership of the Comintern, will bring to

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ON THE QUESTION OF ILLEGAL WORK.

—The Struggle Against Bourgeois Terror.

THE accelerated tempo of fascisation, which is common to all capitalist countries, in one m or another, faces the Communist Party ticularly acutely with the problem of the uggle against terror. The rôle of the terror the system of the means of defence of the class mination of the bourgeoisie has been and will growing every day, parallel with the sharpen- of the class struggle. In some countries the urgeoisie has already passed to open forms of il war (Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.); in ners it is preparing such a transition with the l of a whole system of terror against the mass volutionary organisations and Communist rties (Czecho-Slovakia, etc.). Now the jority of the Communist Parties is already rking in fact in illegal conditions, although me are formally still legal. The bourgeoisie is ssing "in its own way" to the second round revolutions and wars. It has seriously taken o account the experience of the first round of volutions and wars; during a number of years built up special police and army apparati to mbat Communism. The state apparatus of bourgeoisie took years to specialise, it worked the most refined methods of devastating and stroying the vanguard of the working class— Communist Party.

In this respect the Social-Democratic ministers d chiefs-of-police in Germany, the Labour nisters in Great Britain and the Social-Demo- ts in all countries have rendered the bour- isie a service of no little importance. Not ly have they been at the back of the old patent es and executioners of the working class, but y have introduced a "new stream" into the hy trade of the secret services. They have riched the apparatus of state by their direct quaintance with the labour movement, with ople and organisational forms. Throughout world, Social-Democracy has played a most portant part, the part of contractor of human terial for both the police and army apparatus d the cadres of provocateurs. In this sphere o the rôle of the Social-Democracy, as the in social support of the bourgeoisie, has found l expression.

In its police and army apparatus, and also in cial fighting mass organisations, the bour- isie trained considerable numbers of well- ined cadres for the struggle against the revolu- nary movement. The wave of terror started the National-Socialists in Germany showed w the bourgeoisie can create, with the aid of demagogy and provocation, a mass pogrom complex among the petty bourgeoisie it deceives, and in the swing of this mood direct the forces of the state apparatus and the fascist gangs—throw hundreds of thousands simultaneously—to ferret out, catch and destroy the Communists, the revolutionary workers. Mussolini did the same before the German fascists. The Communist Parties now have to take into consideration not the "normal, regular" attack of the apparatus of the political police (which many of our comrades naïvely imagine to be only a few dozen detectives hunting around the town), but the carefully thought-out mass acts of terror on the part of very large police and army apparati, which have whole terrorist organisations at their disposal.

The establishment of the fascist dictatorship evoked a great wave of resistance and indignation among the workers of the whole world; it has caused an extreme strain in all the imperialist contradictions, but at the same time it found a reflection in the intensification of petty terrorist tendencies towards the working class among the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

The fight against terror has now become one of the principal, one of the most outstanding tasks of the Communists. It is now one of the main prerequisites for the mobilisation of the masses and the transition to higher forms of struggle, to the struggle for power. Whoever does not understand the whole importance of the fight against terror, during the present period of development does not see the prospects of the fight for power, does not understand the rôle of the Party as the vanguard and organiser in this fight.

Underestimation of the importance of the struggle against terror, of all forms of this struggle — the mass political campaign in defence of the C.P. and the revolutionary organisations, organisational measures for the protection and safety of the Party organisations, the mass fight against provocation—is unquestionably a Social-Democratic hang-over in our ranks. The basis of underestimation of the importance of the fight against terror, of the adaptation of Party organisation to illegality is legalism, the *glossing over the rôle of the bourgeois state as a class apparatus of violence.*

The lagging of most of the Parties in the sphere of political struggle against terror, the inefficiency in reacting to each attack on the toiling masses and the Party by an extensive campaign of protest and struggle show how strong legalist superstitions still are in our ranks,

how weak is the understanding in certain links of our Party that the Communist Party is a party of class war, and that we approach the revolution, not peacefully and painlessly, but by means of the fiercest class battles, breaking down the resistance of the bourgeoisie, which defends itself by all means at its disposal.

But if there are serious shortcomings in the sphere of political mobilisation of the masses against terror, there are no less serious shortcomings in the sphere of switching the Party organisations over to new methods of work in connection with the intensified terror. Too little attention is devoted to the work of safeguarding and protecting the ranks of the Party from the blows of the enemy, there is still too little care and thought in this sphere. The task before legal Parties is not to let themselves be caught unawares and cut off from the masses at the moment when the most extensive and actual contact with the masses is necessary; to be able to *hide from the enemy* when it becomes necessary, *but not to hide from the masses, to mobilise them with still greater energy to strike a blow at the enemy.*

We must take the fact into consideration that the enemy will attempt to deliver blows of this kind at the most serious moments—during big class battles or in war time, when the bourgeoisie is particularly interested in paralysing the C.P. and when the interests of the movement require maximum activity on our part.

Wherever the Party is obliged to assume illegality—which is determined by the concrete relation between our forces and those of the enemy—*it must do so with a fight in every section of its mass work,* for then the Party does not become isolated from the struggling masses, but, on the contrary, maintains live contact with them in illegality, maintaining a continuity in struggle. A classic example of this is the illegality of the Bolsheviks after the July days of 1917. An excellent example of the fighting transition to illegality has been given by the German Party.

The main point of the task of illegal Parties, both those which have recently been driven into illegality and those which have been working in illegal conditions for many years, is to work out methods for preserving the organisation, its cadres and apparatus from devastation as fully as possible, and at the same time to maintain live contact between the organisations and the masses. This calls for working out special conspiratory methods for each Party; for a firm Bolshevik organisational policy, and, a point of particular importance, for an acquaintance with the methods adopted by the army and police apparati in this fight against us. While the secret services make a systematic study of the Communist Parties and have recourse to the most refined methods of struggle against the Communists, the latter devote very little attention to studying the methods of the enemy. And the police apparatus to-day have in their filthy work left far behind the precious tsarist bully, who knew one formula: "Hold tight and don't let go." To-day the secret service, in accord with the general disintegration of capitalist society, employs the most disgusting methods of provocation, builds up a whole system of various forms of provocation, it acts on a definite plan, which is frequently carefully thought out. To preserve the fighting ability of the Party organisations is to be able to understand the enemy's plans and to avert his blows. This means, first and foremost, to be able to fight against the enemy's most disgusting and most dangerous weapon—provocation.

2.—THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ILLEGAL WORK.

The basic principle of the illegal work of the Communist Parties—worked out through decades of Bolshevik underground activity—is the ability to preserve the *mass character* of the party in its underground activity during the most savage terror. The essence of illegality does not lie in hiding a small group of people from the enemy; it lies in carrying on uninterrupted mass work, and in having a constant influx of new help from the masses—this with the help of a strongly-welded, hidden organisation. A strong illegal party is a party deeply rooted in the masses, and surrounded by large cadres of sympathisers and revolutionary non-party activists. The Communist Party, in general, does not recognise the social-democratic division into active (functioning) and passive (only dues-paying) members of the party; but, despite many years of struggle, these social-democratic survivals still exist in a number of our parties. These must be entirely outlived in the illegal parties: here, *every party member* must be an *activist*, working in and leading a group of workers sympathetic to the party. The basic difference between legal and illegal methods of work does not lie only in conspiracy. It lies in a different system of *mass* work; in the cohesiveness of the party; in its ability to tie itself up with the masses, and to find a road to the masses through the hardest conditions of terror. Underground work demands a different structural system; different systems of leadership, of connections, of cadres; different methods of recruiting and of holding new party members; different methods of publicity and of distribution of publications. Thus, the essence of the thing is not only conspiracy

elf; the task of conspiracy is to make all this rk easier, and to secure its inviolability. nspiracy does not exist of itself. Conspiracy an inalienable, integral part of the methods of derground work; it pervades all branches of work, the entire organisational structure. nspiracy in a mass Communist Party exists ly together with mass work; it degenerates in absence of mass work, and under incorrect ucture of party cadres. Conspiracy is a premely organisational concept. If you hear mplaints about lack of conspiracy in the cadres this or that party, it means that that party's stems of work, of leadership, and of education cadres, are no good.

Frequently, the question of transition from al to illegal work is considered only from the ministrative-technical point of view—is confined only to the preparation of an underground hnical apparatus. Undoubtedly, the preparation of an underground apparatus and means of mmunication is necessary, to secure the party's hting ability in sharp moments. The experience of the C.P.G. has confirmed all the importce of this work: the pre-arranged resources de it easier for the Party to rearrange its paratus and to preserve its important connecns. But—as is shown by the German experice and by the experience of a number of other gal parties—this is not enough; this is only part of the task. It is necessary to reckon h these facts: that, in the first place, no paratus is long-lived: that in the process of work, in consequence of detection and of the ws of terror, it becomes necessary to supplent the apparatus with new people—for which re must be trained, skilled cadres in reserve; l that, in the second place, it becomes necesy, in the process of the work, to reorganise the paratus and often the entire system, and that this new forces are necessary. Thus, at ce, the structure of underground apparatus is up against the question of cadres and their abilitation and renovation. The sharper the ror, the sooner will the question of cadres me up before the apparatus. The creation of paratus without taking these things into count leads, at a certain point, to a crisis in apparatus; to the use of people who are own to the police; and, through this, to raids ich have the most grievous political consences. Technical resources—quarters, secret eting places, addresses, etc.—are exhausted t as quickly as the cadres.

What is the way out of this situation? In first place, in preparation for underground rk, it is necessary to break off decisively from system of superfluous centralisation — the system that predominates at present. The problem of technical-organisational preparation cannot be solved by a small group of people. It is necessary to mobilise all the different links of the party organisation for this task, each of which carries on the work for itself, in its own field. Otherwise there will result an administrative game, instead of a serious organisational preparation. The task of the central body is to instruct, to check up on the carrying out of instructions, and to develop the initiative of the organisations—and *not* to take impossible tasks upon itself, and shut off all possibilities of bringing up and training broader cadres. The objection may be raised, that centralisation secures conspiracy. There is nothing more mistaken than such an opinion. Underground work demands the strictest isolation of the technical apparatus and resources. The same comrades cannot be used simultaneously for work in several technical apparati. Similarly, it is impermissible to use the same address or quarters for different organisations. Tying them up in one big knot aggravates the danger of a raid. The more the initiative of the local organisations is developed, then, the more prepared will each organisation and each branch of party work be for underground activity, the less risk of breakdown there will be, and the more layers of cadres will be drawn into the new system of work. It is especially necessary to isolate, and to exclude from the general apparatus, the apparatus for the preparation and spreading of literature. As far as the rôle and functioning of the underground technical-organisational apparatus are concerned, it is necessary to curtail their functions and tasks as much as possible, and to struggle decisively against duplication of the existing legal clerical-secretarial apparati. As in the old underground parties, so especially in the parties that are just going underground, there is always a tendency to make the apparati into universal-service organs, and to pass on to them the most secret and responsible functions. Comrades carrying out political functions often entrust the most secret organisational work connected with these political functions to the technical apparatus (for instance, especially secret correspondence, secret ciphers, addresses); and besides that, they entirely neglect to check up on the execution of these tasks—they have no time to bother with such trifles. On the one hand, such practice overloads the apparatus; on the other hand, it makes the apparatus omniscient, and concentrates in its hands much more of the party secrets than is necessary. Every experienced underground worker knows that in underground work the

more responsible comrades must carry out a number of technical-organisational tasks independently, and search out technical resources for themselves. Lordly disdain of this work is especially peculiar to comrades who have little underground experience, and legalistic and bureaucratic habits. What one meets most often in relation to the apparatus is stagnancy and conservatism, and inability and unwillingness to change people and methods of work in time. A case is known, for instance, of a certain party, much hampered by provocateurs, in which it became necessary to change the leadership; its technical station remained unchanged for over three years, and in it were carelessly concentrated all the connections, codes, etc. In another party, despite a whole series of raids, the secret meeting-place of the C.C. was not changed for over two years. Many more such examples could be cited. They all point to the same thing—lack of understanding of the fact that in an illegal party the technical apparati are the most important and most sensitive nerves of the organisation; and that lordly disdain of them is very costly to the party. One must reckon with the fact that the work of the technical apparatus is very difficult; and that, when there is insufficient leadership and control, it is perfectly natural that many of the workers tend to follow the line of least resistance—all the more so since it is, in most cases, precisely the leading, politically responsible comrades who give the apparatus the most crying examples of neglect of conspiracy.

The central question for every party, and *especially* for the illegal parties, is the organisation of leadership. Clearness and unity of leadership are of decisive importance in the work of the illegal parties, where the problem of passing instructions downwards is especially complicated, and where it is almost impossible to change or correct instructions quickly. Underground leadership, which does not have those means of communication and co-ordination which are available to the legal, central and district committees, is threatened to a great extent with conflicting directives. A *united directive* centre, unifying the political and organisational leadership of the party, is the first requirement for the functioning of underground leadership. The construction of this centre, and the structure of its executive or auxiliary organs are determined by the peculiarities of the work of each party; but the basic things that must be secured by a directive centre are: steady and continuous work, and the maximum elimination of chance. The experience of a number of parties has shown clearly all the harm done by division in the leading centre, parallelism, etc., and all the advantages of united leadership. Unity of the directing centre is necessary, not only in the C.C., but also in the district committees and in the sections. Experience has shown that the auxiliary organs of the C.C. (departments, committees, fractions, etc.), have many times given directives to organisations independently, over the heads of the district and section committees; these directives frequently contradicted the directives of the last-mentioned party authorities. This is especially true of the illegal parties. True, departments have now been formally abolished, and this danger thus seems to be past; but in actual fact, departments still exist in most of the parties in one form or another. If, for instance, four departments are replaced by an organisational-department with five sections, the situation is not changed in essence: the greatest shortcoming of the organisational structure of the party still remains—that is, the accumulation of a mass of workers around the C.C. and in the central apparatus, at the expense of the local organisations.

The inflation of the central organs of the party is common to almost all the parties; it goes so far that in a number of cases more than half of the party workers (professional revolutionaries) are attached to the centre. Such a situation is intolerable in a legal party; and it is absolutely impermissible in illegal parties, where there is often no possibility of bringing the results of the work of the centre down to the lower bodies. *In the illegal parties the swollen central apparati (in departments) can work at nothing but the study and working-up of problems and general information, unproductively. As a result of this, important numbers of workers are taken out of direct work, and occupy themselves with high reasoning about the work instead of actually working—while the local organisations are deprived of qualified forces.

Not one C.P. can at present permit itself the luxury of creating organs that will only study problems. All the forces that are on hand must be thrown into direct work. The studying of problems can take place in the process of actual work, of actually instructing organisations—which are the basic methods of leadership in underground work. Only by this course is it possible to bring directives quickly and directly

* The tendency to inflate the central apparatus has been especially intensified in connection with the considerable numerical growth of the parties when the leading organs could not decide at once on the necessary changes in the system of leadership, and took the line of least resistance: they tried to satisfy the demands of the local organisations, and adapt themselves to the widening scale of the work, by enlarging the central apparatus.

to the local organisations. The leadership of the illegal parties is numerically limited; and it spends most of its time and energy in tending to the swollen central apparatus—instead of coming closer to the work of the party organisations and giving them concrete instructions by means of a small, mobile, flexible corps of instructors which carries out its basic work in the localities.

The accumulation of an excessive number of workers in the centre overloads the technical-organisational resources, and at the same time forms a constant threat of breakdown.

A question of first importance for every illegal party is the creation of independent leadership in the local organisations—leadership which will be able to react immediately to events, without waiting for directives from the centre. The strength of the Bolsheviks, before the revolution, as well as during the civil war, lay in the fact that their local cadres were able to orientate themselves at once in any situation, and further to take the correct position independently, without communication with the centre. All the C.P.s must attain such a condition. Under present-day conditions of struggle, the active rôle of the party in contemporary events will depend on the independent initiative of the district and section committees. For most of the C.P.s, the time has already passed when it was possible to give instructions to their organisations in one day, by means of publication in the central organ, or even by telegraph or by mail. The sharper the situation, the more often the Bolshevik initiative and determination of the local committees will be the decisive factor in a number of concrete cases. The times of long circulars have also passed. Every local committee will be compelled more and more to work out plans of action for its own district immediately, on the basis of terse instructive directions. *Special attention must be given to the question of the initiative and self-activity of the district and section committees.*

The stability and fighting ability of the illegal parties are built up, above all, by a strong system of local leadership—city committees, and above all, section committees. A party which has strong section committees can withstand the most brutal blows of terror with the least losses; for the basic losses resulting from the blows of terror are not so much on account of arrests, as on account of the loss of separate organisations and party members because of lost connections. The section committee is the leader of the most important acting link of the party — the cells, which carry on direct work in the masses. It is therefore, through its very nature, the decisive link in the system of leadership (especially in the illegal parties, and in critical moments). It is enough to recall the enormous rôle played by the sections in the Bolshevik party during abrupt political events and in revolution. In a number of C.P.s there have been breaks at decisive moments between the correct line and its execution—breaks caused mainly by the weakness of the section. For instance, if the C.P.G. had had stronger sections at the moment when Hitler came into power, it would have been able to realise more successfully its correct line on the development of mass political strikes and demonstrations.

Systematic strengthening of the sections is the only possible way of keeping up firm connections with organisations and with units. All plans for securing reserve connections through to the units by the technical work of the central apparatus are illusory and dangerous. In the first place, in underground conditions, connections and their locations are very mobile, and change quickly, and the general creation of stable connections is impracticable. In the second place, the concentration of a large number of connections in the centre may lead to simply catastrophic consequences, in case of a raid. Connection with an illegal organisation is not an administrative concept; it is created and preserved only organically, in the process of actual work.

Every system of leadership, in the final account, runs up against the question of cadres. And in this question there is an essential difference between legal and illegal parties. In the legal parties the cadres, as a rule, are more stable. Rapid change of cadres, which has taken place and is taking place in a number of parties, comes mainly from an incorrect policy on cadres, from the inability to educate them, to divide the load of work among them systematically, to distribute the cadres, etc. In the illegal parties, under the blows of terror, the tempo of the wearing out of cadres is much greater—because of the hard conditions of work, which demand great strain, as well as in consequence of arrests. In parties working under very bad conditions of terror, the shift in cadres of activists takes place very quickly—as for instance in Germany and in Poland. Exceedingly quick shift of cadres is undoubtedly the result of inexperience in underground work and of neglect of the elementary rules of conspiracy; but even in the absence of these anomalies the average turnover of cadres is pretty high, and demands a special formulation of the question of reproduction and advancement of cadres. The main shortcoming in the replenishment of cadres in the illegal parties is the accidental character of their advancement. After raids, the breaches are filled up hurriedly

with the people who are on hand at the moment; and very often untested, unsteady people, unfitted for the work, get into the higher committees of the party. The result is the utmost disorganisation of the given link, instead of its reinforcement. The question of the individual composition and election of leadership is often solved hastily, impressionistically, with total neglect of the importance of organisational policy and of careful personal selection.

How can we avoid this situation, which to some comrades seems unavoidable? First of all, it is necessary to remove and transpose the workers who are suspected by the police before their arrest, in this way saving the experienced cadres from destruction. Then it is necessary to prepare substitutes for the worn-out cadres; it is necessary to have constantly at our disposal a definite reserve of cadres for manœuvring. When these conditions are observed, the initiative in the advancement and selection of cadres will always remain with the leadership of the party, and selection will be protected to the maximum extent from chance. A correct planned policy of cadres is possible even under the hardest conditions, and this has been proved by all the experience of the Leninist C.P.S.U. (b). It is necessary to embed in the consciousness of the party from the very beginning the Bolshevik "organisational style," and to fight against every slip to the line of least resistance. We are living in a period of revolutionary upsurge. The terror of the present period is a straining of all the forces of perishing capitalism for the protection of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. It is not the terror of a victorious counter-revolutionary period of reaction. Hundreds of thousands and millions take part in the revolutionary struggle, and ever new masses of the working class become involved in the struggle. The situation creates conditions extremely favourable for the growth of cadres as well as for the general growth of the party. Human material for cadres is supplied by the very scale of the class struggle; activists in the class struggle are material for the party. It is necessary only to wish and to know how to draw this element into the cadres. Whenever the policy of cadres is botched up, whenever it is torn away from live mass work, whenever the cadres are clogged up with accidental, non-proletarian elements, then inevitably the flow of live proletarian forces into the party and its cadres is stopped, and there finally results a crisis in the cadres. The education of cadres in illegal parties demands much more effort than in the legal parties. It is impossible for the illegal parties to arrange broad courses for the activist, or to provide him with much theoretical and propagandistic material. For this reason more attention must be devoted to the direct education of cadres in the work, and to giving the cadres concentrated theoretical and general political material. The harder the conditions for agit-prop work, the higher must be the level of this work, and the more carefully thought-out the system. A theoretical organ, giving the activist a clear revolutionary perspective, and generalising on his daily work, is an urgent necessity in every illegal party.

The education of cadres in direct work requires two conditions: collective work and inner-party democracy. These requirements are often forgotten even in the legal parties; and in the illegal parties there is an even greater tendency to neglect both collective work and inner-party democracy. These tendencies are "justified" by the requirements of conspiracy. Such a stand is a profoundly mistaken one, for collective work and inner-party democracy are not confined to any one definite form—they can be adjusted in various forms, to fit every situation, even the most difficult. Take, for instance, the cases where an unwieldy party organ cannot come together. The party must not give up meetings, discussion, and division of work. Instead, it must decrease the particular organ numerically, and have it meet less frequently — but keep on meeting, jointly working out a plan of work, and checking up on its execution. In those cases where it is not possible to call broad meetings together, there may be put into practice other forms (group consultations, etc.), for the expression by the party masses of their judgment of the work of the organisation, of the leadership, and of individual leaders. Without this it is impossible to develop in the activist a sense of responsibility — the most important thing in all revolutionary work.

The structure of the leadership requires a combination of election and co-optation, to guarantee to the maximum extent the qualitative composition of the committees, and their connection with the decisive party organisations (with the proletarian sections and the largest factory cells).

The aim of the entire organisational policy of the party, of its entire system of leadership, advancement and education of cadres, is: maximum development of the mass work of the units, and especially of the factory cells. The work of this basis of the party, of these directly fighting links, which penetrate into the thick of the masses—this work determines the work of the party as a whole. The cell is not only a lower administrative division; the party unit is the

asic lever of the party's influence on the masses. Every party directive remains a mere empty ound if it is *not brought down to the units, if ne unit is not mobilised to carry it out.* The ntire system of party leadership hangs in the ir if its gear-teeth do not bring the units into ction; and especially in an illegal party, *quick ringing of directives down to the units* and their xecution by the units determine the success of aily work as well as of actions.

From this it ensues that one of the most nportant requirements, in the difficulty of nderground communication, is timeliness of irectives, with the view of bringing them *without fail* to the most important units. In checking up on the execution of each directive it is *ost important* to find out whether it *reached ne units*, and how the *units carried it out.* An legal party has extra difficulties in the transission of material and, because of this, in raising the political level of the units. Precisely for his reason, especially in the illegal parties, all ossible measures must be taken, all forces and esources strained, to arm the unit politically—he basic strength of the party, which is in direct ontact with the adversary, and which is struggling directly for the conquest of the masses. Through all the difficulties of illegality, there ust be constant checking up by the section ommittees on the work in the shops; there ust be systematic attention at least to the rgest units, and direction of their work. The ection and district committees must be conantly in touch with the work of the units. They ust activise them, and attach active, experinced comrades to them to strengthen their work. he rôle of the cell is determined by its organational form—the principles of which are ction, ease of communication among the embers, and the possibility of calling meetings. he numerical size of the cell cannot be determined mechanically, acording to a plan common the entire party — it must fit in with the quirements of action and of conspiracy in the oncrete situation. The cell is the part of the arty which has advanced furthest into the asses, but it is on no account the most vulnerole point of the party organisation. On the ntrary, when it works skilfully, the cell bemes the link of the party that is most protcted *by the masses.* A cell which carries on ily mass work surrounds itself with a layer of n-party activists, and has its own system of ansmission in the working masses. The scope the mass work of the cell depends on its ility to develop the activity of the cadre of n-party workers whom it leads.

The relations of an illegal party with mass revolutionary organisations—both legal ones and those which spring up without official permission —make up a separate group of problems, of extreme importance.

Illegality is not something set and absolute. The extent to which the party must go underground depends on the co-relation of forces, on the activity of the party, and on the party's ability to get to the masses through the barriers of terror. Only a sectarian party, which is isolated from the masses, can be driven completely underground. A party which is tied up with the masses will always push itself up, will always be able to find itself a base in the mass organisations. We meet with two abnormalities in the relationships between the party and the mass organisations: the party organisations often melt into the mass organisations, lose their form, and cease to exist as solid, politically leading organisations; or, in other cases, the closed-up, sectarian party organisations are isolated from the mass organisations—the latter exist, so to say, parallelly. In the first case the party organisations lose their fighting ability, and become a sort of supplement to the mass organisation; they demobilise themselves entirely, from within—they virtually *liquidate* themselves.

We have met with such liquidative tendencies in the past in Finland, Hungary and Bulgaria.

In the second case, we have the reverse side of liquidation. The mass organisations are "rented out" to all sorts of accidentally emerging, altogether foreign elements, who often pull the mass organisations on to a course inimical to the revolutionary movement.

In all possible forms of influence and leadership of mass organisations—depending on the character of the organisation and the general situation in the country—the following must remain an inviolable principle: An illegal party never hides its face. It speaks to the masses in clear Communist language, in its literature as well as its demonstrations. It continues and intensifies the recruiting of workers into its ranks. Only members of party units are accounted members of the party—and *not* all participants in mass organisations, as has often happened in practice. The party realises its leadership in mass organisations, and carries on work in them, through fractions; and fractions are built up not only in the leading centres, but in every link of the organisation. The necessity of involving all party organisations in work in the mass organisations should be emphasised with especial force, because in most cases party leadership of mass organisations is confined to the central fraction, and the local party organisations have no leadership or influence in the districts and sections of

the mass organisations. The same thing is true to a large extent of the party's work in the trade unions, which constitutes a decisive section of the mass work of the party. Here, especially in the illegal parties, we meet most often with a gap between trade union work and the general daily work of the party organisations—with "independent" revolutionary trade union work. And on the other hand, the cells often act themselves as trade union opposition groups, instead of creating and leading the work of a revolutionary trade union opposition.

Correct organisational policy in an illegal party makes possible also the correct application of the principles of conspiracy. A number of the most important principles of conspiracy have been mentioned above. Conspiracy is a method of preserving the party's secrets; it changes in accordance with the concrete situation. But the basic thing under all conditions is—the strictest discipline in the work, and a sense of responsibility for the work that is being carried on, and for the preservation of the party organisation. Responsibility in conspiratorial work must stand on a level with responsibility in carrying out the party line. Neglect of conspiracy must not go unpunished (regardless of who the guilty person is!) Regrettably, we meet with this phenomenon at every step; and it is often the most responsible comrades who give the most glaring examples of lack of conspiracy. Most often, when they violate conspiracy, comrades offer the excuse that they were in a dilemma: they were forced either to give up carying on the work, or to violate conspiracy. In other cases, inactivity is "justified" by the requirements of conspiracy. Both come to the mistaken conclusion that conspiracy throttles the work of the party. If that is so, then why is conspiracy necessary at all? In actual fact, there is no situation where it is not possible to work both actively and conspiratorially. In the first case we have a typical manifestation of petty bourgeois looseness and flippancy, screened under personal "heroism"; in the second—simply cowardice and opportunism.

We shall return to this question in connection with the study of the methods of work of the secret police, especially the methods of provocation, and the struggle against it; but we will take this up in our next article.

IN THE PARADISE OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

(The Situation in New Zealand and the Tasks of the C.P.N.Z.)

NEW ZEALAND—a small country, with a total population of only one and a half million—once played a considerable rôle in the propaganda of the reformist parties of the Second International. Before the imperialist war, New Zealand and part of Australia served as a sort of living example of what may be attained by a "decent" social-democratic party, acting "sensibly"—that is, in coalition with the bourgeoisie. As late as 1917, right up to the October revolution, the propaganda of the Russian mensheviks and socialists-revolutionaries often cited New Zealand as an example to the Russian workers and peasants—setting up the course of historical evolution of this country against that course proposed by the bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head.

That which made New Zealand, in the eyes of the international mensheviks and S.-R.s, an advanced country, worthy of imitation, was her democratic régime, which really represented, before the war, the highest development of bourgeois democracy. New Zealand was very far advanced in the so-called peaceful introduction of social reforms—which formed the basis of all the programmes of all the parties of the II International. She was one of the first of the capitalist countries to introduce universal suffrage, including woman suffrage; she was one of the first to introduce old age and maternity relief; she had the eight-hour working day, a minimum wage law, universal, compulsory, free education, etc. Finally, she was trying to "liquidate" the class struggle, with the help of compulsory state arbitration. What more is needed by a reformist, for him to proclaim such a country a heaven on earth?

However, of recent years New Zealand has ceased to attract the attention of international social-democracy. The development of New Zealand is no longer set against the "utopia" of the bolsheviks. Her name is mentioned only in the schools, in geography lessons, and then again on the London dairy market. However, there are occasions, even now, when New Zealand appears on the front pages of the leading capitalist newspapers. There was such an occasion in the spring of last year, when masses of unemployed organised impressive demonstrations on the streets of the largest cities of New Zealand. But the social-fascist press passes over

occasions in silence—a silence, however, which re eloquent than the lies of the candid bourgeois

I.

early as the tenth year of this century, Lenin New Zealand "a young capitalist democracy, the high development of agricultural capitalism of the question." New Zealand's develop- as a bourgeois democracy began in the 1890's. the '90's, the main rôle in the administration country was played by the big landowners and -breeders. They had taken possession of t all the land of the southern island, and were ucting the economic development of the thinly ated northern island in every possible way. influx of English immigrants, made up mainly erally and trade-unionistically inclined workers mall farmers, brought about the accumulation employed colonists in the cities. The mono- of the big landowners made it impossible to these immigrants on the land, or to employ in the stagnant industry and construction work country. For this reason the '90's were years isis and spontaneous unrest in New Zealand. spontaneously formed united front of worker- small farmers, directed against the big lands rs, and demanding democratic reforms, was ly under the control of the liberal bourgeoisie; 'labour" leaders of that period also followed lead. The big landowners were replaced at elm of the government by the liberal party, prattled of equal distribution of wealth in Zealand, screening the spread of bourgeois cracy under the name of socialism or state ism. Thanks to this policy of the "labour" s, who participated in the bourgeois govern- which had come into power, the leadership ged, not to the working class, but to the demo- ally inclined bourgeois farmer. A concrete estation of this transformation of the farmer is ct that the farmers received, and have kept to resent day, the privilege of adding 28 per cent. eir total vote at elections to parliament—the reverse of what is done in the land of the orship of the proletariat—the U.S.S.R.

is attack on the position of the big landowners attle-breeders never—God forbid!—went so full confiscation. A law on the alienation of (with reimbursement) was passed. But even w was seldom put into action; and up to 1927 about 2 million acres—10 per cent. of the ely-owned land—had been bought up (on ions very favourable to the owners), and uted among the small farmers. New Zealand, er, was saved by the fact that at the time of evolution" only a minor part of her land was vate hands. The construction of railroads opened up the vast new fertile spaces of the northern island, which were conserved as public land, and were dealt out among the settlers as small farms, at low rentals. The amount of this land even now almost equals the amount of privately-owned land (18.8 million acres as compared to 20.5 million); and the figure of the tenant farmer, suffering above all from high rents (and representing in the U.S., for instance, according to the last census, 42 per cent. of all the farmers) is as yet not characteristic of New Zealand. Precisely for this reason, Lenin was entirely correct in saying, in 1907, that in New Zealand we observe something analogous to nationalisation of the land. And it was this approach to nationalisation of the land that gave the mighty impulse which brought about the swift economic development of the country in the paths of agricultural capitalism.

The honeymoon of the farmer-labour united front under the leadership of the democratic bourgeoisie did not last long. In 1906-07 the labour leaders were compelled to leave the coalition, and then the Labour Party of New Zealand branched out independently, although it maintained, in essence, its former liberal position. Profound changes took place in the other liberal party. The enactment of reforms, the transition to intensive dairy farming, the growth of export of New Zealand products during a favourable situation on the world market—all this appeased the New Zealand farmers, who now became contented, law-abiding bourgeois. From this time on, the interests of this bourgeoisie lay along the line of restraining the workers from any further protests; along the line of putting a stop to the "exorbitant" demands of the workers for higher wages and better living conditions. The big mass strike of the miners in 1917 led to a direct clash between the farmers, led by their reactionary organisation, and the striking workers. With the hand of the appeased farmer, who had grown comfortably fat on the rise of prices—with this hand the bourgeoisie knocked the workers on the head, and gave them to understand that the bourgeoisie was master in the land. In so far as the working class was concerned, the results of the liberal policy of the New Zealand labour leaders had already showed themselves on the eve of the imperialist war.

The last three decades, and especially the world war and the post-war period, have brought substantial changes in the character of New Zealand capitalism. From a young capitalist democracy, New Zealand has turned into a third-class imperialist power. New Zealand's bourgeoisie clings tenaciously to its colony, Samoa, allotted to it by the Allies in the division of the spoils at the end of the war. It avenges itself against the uprisings of the natives not less fiercely, if not more so, than British imperialism against the revolutionary movement in India.

Young finance capital in New Zealand has come right into the ranks as junior partner to the finance capital of its mother country, which has monopolised the decisive levers in the economy of its dominions—credit and foreign trade. "The British steamship companies," states one of the best bourgeois works on New Zealand, "together with the local companies, possess a virtual monopoly over foreign trade; the English financial institutions provide the floating capital for the swift transfer of goods to the other side of the earth, and financial transactions connected with this trade are concentrated in London. . . . Much the greater part of the foreign investments in New Zealand come from England. It would probably not be politically possible for any New Zealand government to follow the example of certain Australian states and float loans on the New York market."

At present, New Zealand is practically a suburban economy of London. In the most important branches of agriculture (industry plays only an insignificant rôle in New Zealand economy), New Zealand is entirely dependent on foreign markets. Thus, in 1929, 97.3 per cent. of all the wool produced was exported; 54.7 per cent. of the sheep; 94.7 per cent of the lambs; 79 per cent. of the butter; and almost 100 per cent. of the cheese. In general, it is estimated that only about 40 per cent. of all New Zealand's produce remains in the country. 60 per cent. is exported; and 72 per cent. of all exports goes to England, mainly to London. It is not surprising that in the question of tariffs, conversion of loans, etc., the New Zealand bourgeoisie dares not take even those timid steps against English capital which are being attempted by the Australian bourgeoisie. The latter is trying to use the Anglo-American conflict to its own advantage by blackmailing English capital with the threat of strengthening the position of American capital in Australia.

The fall of world prices on agricultural products which began soon after the war, the agrarian crisis which followed, and finally the present world economic crisis, have thrown the New Zealand farmer from the heights of his "democratic" self-satisfaction, and exposed and sharpened the class contradictions in the New Zealand villages. As has already been shown, New Zealand agriculture is extremely commercialised, and produces almost entirely for export. With the exception of a small group of wheat farms, which work for the internal market, the New Zealand farmer is dependent on world prices, and above all on the English market. While agricultural prices are falling catastrophically, English capital, taking advantage of its monopoly over foreign trade, refuses to lower rates on short and long term credit, and keeps freightage at its former high level. Because of this, an ever larger part of the purchase price of New Zealand products remains in the pockets of the English capitalists, and an ever smaller part is left to the New Zealand farmer. Inasmuch as the internal market is not large, the New Zealand government cannot use the usual panacea of other capitalist countries in the struggle against the crisis—high tariffs. In one case, it is true, the government uses this weapon. New Zealand wheat is intended mainly for internal use; and in years of bad harvests the import of foreign wheat is increased. The New Zealand government has established a sliding-scale tariff on imported wheat. Thus, for instance, when the price of wheat in Sydney (Australia) is 2s. 6d., the duty in New Zealand goes up to 4s. 6d., or almost 200 per cent. of the cost of the wheat. The first to suffer from this high tariff on bread is the working-class population. However, not only the workers, but also all the toiling farmers, suffer; for the cultivation of wheat is concentrated mainly in the province of Canterbury, where 50 per cent. of the farmers produce not more than 15 per cent. of all the wheat, while 8 per cent. of the wheat farms monopolise one-third of the total production. The gain from these tariffs thus goes almost exclusively to a small handful of big Canterbury farmers, who are enabled by the tariff to rob the toiling masses of the country uncontrolledly. While the formation of new class lines among the New Zealand farmers is shown especially clearly by the example of this tariff on wheat, other measures of the government (the lowering of prices on fertilizer, the lowering of railroad freightage on agricultural loads, etc.), although less frankly, also work for the benefit of that very same big farmer. Apropos, the peculiarities of New Zealand as a chiefly exporting agricultural country make impossible government propaganda for cutting down sown area—steps which constitute the basis of Roosevelt's programme for the "sanitation" of agriculture. On the contrary, the New Zealand government, in its need of foreign funds, agitates for the increase of production—although this gives the farmer nothing but new debts.

Parallel with the changes in character of New Zealand capitalism have come changes in the methods of rule of the New Zealand bourgeoisie. The "advanced democracy" has unmasked itself more and more as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The present world economic crisis is tearing the last remnants of the democratic veil from the governmental system of New Zealand. In its attempts to transfer the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the working class, the New Zealand bourgeoisie has thrown tens of thousands of workers into the streets, and is carrying out furious wage-cuts against the workers who remain in the factories. Even by the calculations of the reformist leaders of the Labour Party, there are at present 120,000 unemployed in New Zealand. These unemployed are driven into "labour camps," which the workers call "slave

ps". They are forced to work in unsanitary ditions for pitiful relief—insufficient to feed the kers alone, not to speak of their families. Until ntly, only single workers were driven into these, ps. Now, under the threat of cutting off relief kers with families are also forced to go. Besides work in the camps, workers are hired out to the farmers to do heavy agricultural work for the e paltry relief. The big farmers, the municities, the state and private employers, use forced ur of the unemployed to lower still further the es of the employed workers. At the same time, government of the New Zealand bourgeoisie, er the pretence of economy, cuts off old-age and invalid pensions, government help to mothers widows, etc., etc.—in a word, brings to naught hat which the New Zealand (and the international) al-reformists were so proud of, which they called cial reforms." The present New Zealand governnt, which consists—like the English government—a coalition between the conservative and liberal ties, has refused to carry on compulsory arbitra-. Compulsory arbitration used to establish eral basic wage rates for each branch of industry; it led to compulsory membership of workers in reformist trade unions, which were recognised the court of arbitration—thus consolidating the erful position of the social-fascist leaders of the le unions. Although the law on compulsory tration also forbade strikes, demanding peace in ustry, yet in the present crisis not even all these antages are sufficient to satisfy the New Zealand rgeoisie. The capitalists of New Zealand demand ee hand in their attack on the working class, and for every employer the unlimited right to the wages of his workers at his own discretion not at the direction of a centralised representative he interests of the capitalists in the person of a rt of arbitration. Accordingly, last year, comory arbitration was replaced by "voluntary tration" and "compulsory conciliation." The tance of the new law is, that if one side is unfied with the decision of the court of arbitration, ay appeal to a special commissioner, who will l the compulsory rates established for that icular branch of industry. The collective con- of the trade unions with the employers thus bles down, and the employer gets the right to loy any workers who will agree to work on his litions. Since the prohibition of strikes remains rce, this law compels the worker to be conciliated e conditions of work pressed on him by the loyers alone.

de by side with the liquidation of the old reist policy in the field of the relations of workers employers, comes the suppression of democratic lom. Meetings and demonstrations of the ers are forbidden. Revolutionary literature is confiscated, and terror against the C.P. is carried on with merciless brutality. "Fascisation" of the government of capitalists and big farmers in New Zealand is in full swing. A characteristic feature of this process is the use of reactionary farmers' organisations by the bourgeoisie. With the development of the world economic crisis, these organisations were the first to raise the cry of the necessity of lowering the wages of the workers. From these same organisations are gathered special police detachments for the suppression of strikes. Finally, these organisations themselves render active service to the government in the struggle against the workers' movement.

Apart from this process of "worming" into a fascist dictatorship through more or less gradual suppression of democratic freedom, one may also observe in New Zealand a growth of actual fascism in the manner of Hitler—represented by the recently formed New Zealand Legion. The latter, adapting itself to the parliamentary traditions which are strong in New Zealand, has so far refrained from any open manifestation against the parliamentary system, and limits itself to demanding the creation of a "non-partisan" government, limited suffrage, the development of a "national spirit," etc. The existence of the New Zealand Legion is very much to the interest of the Labour Party, which supports the semi-fascist measures of the government against the working class and its revolutionary organisations under the pretence of struggling against the Legion (which has very little influence as yet).

Thus appears, in actual deed, the direct product of the pre-war, liberal-bourgeois, anti-socialist policy of the New Zealand Labour Party—the "advanced democratic"—"state-socialistic" system in New Zealand. The following characteristic fact may serve, to some extent, as a measure of the changes which have come about in New Zealand since the end of the last century. The governmental reformers of the '90's popularised literature of petty-bourgeois utopian socialism, especially Bellamy's book, *Looking Backward*. At present, this book is on the list of forbidden literature.

II.

A certain American petty-bourgeois radical, who visited New Zealand during the world war, notes in his book: "It is remarkable how many people of all strata and classes call themselves socialists in New Zealand." They call themselves, of course, a socialistic New Zealand Labour Party. The "socialism" of the Labour Party expresses itself primarily in this; that it hinders the development of an independent struggle of the working class with all its might. When the law on compulsory arbitration was in force, the N.Z.L.P. and the reformist trade unions betrayed the workers in the bourgeois court of arbitration. At present, when compulsory arbitra-

tion had been abolished, the "labour" leaders sell the interests of the workers in the voluntary courts of arbitration, breaking down, behind the backs of the workers, the mass strikes which break out spontaneously all over the country. Thus were recently betrayed the big strikes of the slaughterhouse workers and the sailors; thus were betrayed and are being betrayed a series of strikes of the coalminers, which remained disunited as a result of the sabotage of the reformist trade unions. At the last convention of the Labour Party, which took place in the spring of this year, not a word was said about these strikes. On the other hand, an important leader and so-called theoretician of the Labour Party, a certain Mr. Holland, read tediously and in detail an impressive list of the "labours" of the L.P. deputies in parliament, the bills introduced by them (all defeated by a parliamentary majority), etc. "The Hansard (stenographic report of the parliamentary sessions) for last year," Holland proudly declared, "contains reports of *battles* (!) on the floor of Parliament, carried on by the members of the Labour Party, which are unequalled by any other labour or socialist party in the world."

Around what questions did the Labour Party carry on "battles" in Parliament, what were its basic demands? They may be summed up in three points: hastening the development of local industry, state control of banks, and the settlement of the unemployed on the land. The first of these demands has been put forward by the Labour Party, especially strenuously of late. It reflects the tendency of the industrial bourgeoisie of New Zealand to widen the sale of its products at the expense of English imports. This, however, infringes on the Ottawa agreement, which obliges the New Zealand government not to introduce tariffs which would raise the price of English goods above that of corresponding New Zealand goods. As the New Zealand government does not dare to come out openly against the Ottawa agreement, the Labour Party acts as her propagandist in this field. But not only this. The leaders of the Labour Party come out openly as direct agents of the New Zealand manufacturers in the advertisement of their goods. That same Labour Party leader, Holland, took part in the opening of an industrial exhibition together with the organisation of the manufacturers; and he received thanks from the city mayor in these words: "Our members may hold different political opinions, but these opinions are drowned in a united effort to advertise goods 'made in New Zealand'." And the Labour Party press loudly appeals: "Shall we support the oversea manufacturers, who have no foundation in New Zealand, or shall we direct our modest trade to our own manufacturers, for the general good of New Zealand and her entire population?"

The demand for the development of local industry directly expresses the Labour Party's support of "our own" manufacturers.

Through its second demand—state control of banks—the Labour Party tries to distract the attention of the working masses from the struggle against their own bourgeoisie, by setting forth English capital as the chief author of all the distress of the New Zealand toilers. If we add, that the N.Z.L.P., following right in the footsteps of its European and American brothers, is delighted with Roosevelt's programme; and that it sets socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., as a "dictatorship," on a level with fascist dictatorship—setting up against "all forms of dictatorship" the parliamentary democracy; then the counter-revolutionary, anti-working class, anti-soviet face of the N.Z.L.P. should be manifestly exposed.

In actual fact, however, the traitorous rôle of the Labour Party and the reformist trade unions is still far from clear to the masses of New Zealand workers. The mass influence of the social-fascists is undeniably shrinking. Of the information which sometimes gets into the Press on the membership of the Labour Party, it is worth while to note the data on Auckland, the second largest city of New Zealand. There, the Labour Party had 11,510 members in 1931; 8,705 in 1932; and 4,288 in 1933. In three years the membership of the Auckland branch of the Labour Party was cut down to little more than one-third of what it had been. However, the Labour Party still has large reserves of demagogy with which to deceive the working masses. It is enough to glance at the organ of the Labour Party—the *New Zealand Worker*—to see with what cleverness the Labour Party manœuvres. The attitude of the paper to the U.S.S.R., for example, is characteristic. The land of the dictatorship of the proletariat unquestionably has the sympathy of the wide masses of workers of New Zealand. This is shown by the letters of the worker members of the Labour Party, which are published in the paper. And so the *New Zealand Worker* systematically prints notes on the achievements of socialist construction, news from the soviet radio-stations, etc. And at the same time, the paper, with no embarrassment whatsoever, prints the resolutions of the convention of the Labour Party, which express "full agreement with the British Labour Party in its opposition to all forms of dictatorship and in its support of constitutional representative government and methods." The paper does not dare to say plainly that this resolution is simply an attack against the Soviet Union, preferring to infuse the minds of the workers with social-fascist poison underhandedly. In the same manner the paper prints on one page a long article against the bourgeois theory of Douglas, who advocates the renovation of capitalism on the basis of a state credit system; and on the next page the speeches of the "labour

leaders," who take over Douglas' arguments *in toto* in their demand for state control of the banks. The blackguards of the Labour Party get away with all these swindling manœuvres, because the New Zealand workers—who have been misled for decades by reformist theory and practice—cannot see through this deceit without the help of the conscious revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat—without the help of the Communist Party.

III.

The C.P.N.Z. is one of the youngest sections of the Comintern: it was accepted into the Comintern at the VI Congress, in 1928. In the last five years, the New Zealand comrades have shown themselves to be self-sacrificing fighters for the interests of the New Zealand proletariat. In strike struggles, and especially in the unemployed movement, the communists have always gone at the head of the working masses. In the spring of 1932, when waves of demonstrations and protests of the unemployed swept over all of New Zealand, the self-sacrifice and militant determination of the communists earned wide fame for the party, and spread its influence among thousands of unemployed and employed workers. It was not accidental that precisely from that time on, one repression after another poured down on the Party. The frightened New Zealand bourgeoisie puts the Party leaders in prison, obstructs the printing of the Party paper, confiscates party publications, and carries on an endless series of raids on Party headquarters. Last year three important leaders of the Party were given prison sentences, not to speak of many rank-and-file communists. At present several recently-arrested members of the Central Committee are on trial. However, in spite of all the undoubted merits of the New Zealand comrades, it is necessary to admit openly that the C.P.N.Z. is still very weak organisationally and politically; and that it is still a small group, not only weak in membership, but also cut off from the working masses in the decisive branches of the economy of the country (coal miners, transport workers, slaughterhouse workers, agricultural workers). The Party consists mainly of unemployed; factory cells hardly exist. The reason for this weakness of the Party lies partly in the unfortunate territorial situation of New Zealand—isolated from the international revolutionary movement; and in the terror of the bourgeoisie, coming down upon a young, inexperienced party before it had managed to overcome the reformistic tradition of legalism and build itself a foundation among the working masses. But it is clear that the organisational and political weakness of the Party cannot be explained by objective conditions alone. The explanation must be sought first of all in the actions and the methods of work of the New Zealand communists.

The basic task of the New Zealand communists is to lead the struggle of the New Zealand proletariat for its everyday demands, and to expose the government of the social-fascists; to win the working masses to the cause of communism; *to transform the party from a little sect into a mass party of the New Zealand proletariat*. How do the New Zealand comrades approach this basic task?

We have before us the latest issue of the party organ, the *Red Worker* of August 23rd, 1933. This issue contains a small article on the united front against the Communist Party of one of the leaders of the N.Z.L.P., a certain Lee, with the leaders of the fascist Legion. Why is Mr. Lee—asks the *Red Worker*—against the Communist Party and Communism? Because—the paper answers—Mr. Lee owns 175 shares in one company; 850 in another; 1,700 in another. His wife also owns shares. Other important leaders of the Labour Party are in no way behind Mr. Lee. And the paper gives concrete figures of how many shares in companies are owned by other "labour" leaders. The paper finishes: "It is now clear on which side of the class struggle lie the interests of these people. They coincide with the interests of their class-colleagues—the share-holders. It is precisely for this reason that we see Mr. Lee working hand in hand with the fascists in the preparation of an attack on the Communist Party."

The article quoted concretely exposes the connections of the Labour Party leaders with the bourgeoisie, with finance capital. And yet this exposure does not go far enough. Any reformist worker who is driven into the "slave camps" or who awaits this fate in the near future—and such are the majority in New Zealand—any such worker, in reading this article, cannot but compare his own situation with that of his "leader," living in clover on his dividends. But why should the reformist worker worry about an attack on the Communist Party?

Can it be that the C.P.N.Z. has *already* proved to the wide masses of workers of its country that it not only wishes to, but is actually able to protect their interests; can it be that these masses of workers have been taught by experience to look on the Communist Party as *their own* organisation, which they will not allow to be insulted, even though they may not agree entirely with its programme and methods of struggle? Such a situation does not yet exist in New Zealand. The Communist Party has not yet proved all this to the wide masses of the working class. Therefore, in *such* circumstances, it would be much better for the party to demonstrate to the workers how inevitable it is that, from the situation of the aristocracy of labour in general, and from the financial ties of the "labour" leaders with the capitalistic companies of New Zealand in

particular—that from this must grow their policy of supporting the attack of the government and the employers on the *working class*. Why, such so-called "labour leaders," as exposed in the note in the *Red Worker*, are *directly* interested in lowering the wages of the employed workers and the relief of the unemployed, and in suppressing the strike struggles of the workers—for which they substitute "battles" of words in Parliament. If the *Red Worker* had explained *this* to the workers, plainly and clearly from day to day, with just such concrete examples as were quoted above—then the reformist workers of the trade unions and the Labour Party would have understood that their "leader" Mr. Lee, screening himself behind a veil of "democracy," is fighting with the fascists against the interests of the workers, and that an attack on the Communist Party is one form of this fight. But it would be better than all agitation for the party seriously to set about organising and spreading the struggles of the workers and the unemployed for their everyday demands; and in these struggles to gain the workers' unshakable confidence. And from this point it would be easy to show that defence of the U.S.S.R. means defence of the interests of the working class. Then the statement that "Mr. Lee works hand in hand with the fascists to prepare an attack on the Communist Party" would really have evoked a storm of indigna- against Lee and his social-fascist colleagues. Then we would no doubt have witnessed in New Zealand such scenes as occur more and more often in Germany where the social-democratic workers have, more than once, beaten back with arms the attacks of fascist bands on communist organisations. But what is the sense of merely talking about what might be? The C.P.N.Z. is still very far from holding that position in the proletariat which is occupied by the Communist Party of Germany. The New Zealand comrades, while they must not trudge along at the tail of the backward workers, must yet skilfully adapt their propaganda to that level of development of the working-class movement which exists in their country.

The article quoted has been taken apart in such detail because this method of propaganda is typical of the New Zealand communists. In the same issue of the *Red Worker* there is a big editorial on fascism. In this editorial the attacks of the New Zealand government on the Communist Party are cited as supreme proof of the fascist tendencies of the government; and the role of the Labour Party in the support of these fascist tendencies is boiled down to its support of the ruling class against the Communist Party. Take, again, the call of the Party in connection with the trial of the members of the Central Committee of the C.P.N.Z. which is now going on; here, once more, the entire trial is boiled down to the desire of the ruling class to suppress the communist movement and to deprive it of leadership.

The New Zealand comrades are profoundly mistaken if they think that they can gain the confidence of the workers by endless repetition of the words *communism* and *Communist Party*. This confidence can be gained only through unfailing activity in the front ranks of the struggling workers; through correct organisation and correct leadership of the workers' struggles; and through timely exposure of the treachery of the reformist leaders *in the course of the struggle*. And it is precisely in this that the weakness of the C.P.N.Z. shows itself most. Many strikes take place without the active participation of the communists—who limit themselves to the rôle of advisers; and the experience of the last year, especially in the unemployed movement, has shown that the New Zealand comrades lose their political independence too often, when they find themselves face to face with the reformists in the same work and organisation, or in the same strike. The Party's loss of its leading position in the unemployed movement is especially instructive in relation to this. The self-sacrificing participation of the communists in the militant demonstrations of the workers in the spring of last year gave the Party a strong position in the unemployed movement. The Party was the first to take up the organisation of the unemployed workers, and it created a comparatively large organisation—the Unemployed Workers' Movement—which at one time had over 4,000 members. In the wake of this, the reformists also came to their senses, and began to organise the unemployed in a separate reformist union. In the autumn of last year, the unemployed of Wellington went on strike, under the leadership of the communists—demanding union wages on public works. The Party correctly advanced the slogan of united front, and formed a united strike committee. But when reformists also came into the strike committee (which was unavoidable) the communist members lost control, and were unable either to carry on the necessary organisational work, or to set up their political line against the treacherous tactics of the reformists. The slogan of the united front was taken out of the hands of the Party, and was used by the reformists against the Party. As a result of the Wellington strike, there appeared a united unemployed organisation, which was controlled by the reformists. After this, the Party carried its mistake even further: it took the initiative in calling a conference of all unemployed organisations; and at this conference it actually agreed not to criticise the social-fascist leaders, without demanding any guarantees from them. On this conference, the *Red Worker* wrote: "Each organisation retains its independence. United front does not mean the dissolution of any one of these organisations. In-

ed, it means that the majority of the unemployed ganisations are strongly determined to secure the ity of the unemployed for struggle, on the basis a comradely union of suitable organisations." hese solemn promises of the *Red Worker* to preserve e independence of each organisation of the unnployed, including that of the reformists, led to is: that the *revolutionary organisations* of the nemployed actually lost their independence, and iled to show their revolutionary position in any ay. During the last half year, so far as may be dged from the press, the reformists have conlidated even more strongly their position in the ovement started at the initiative of the communists. he reformists have successfully averted the national rike of the unemployed which was indicated by e spontaneous strikes in a series of labour camps st spring; and they are now reorganising the ovement into a "national united front organisation the unemployed," from which they are attempting expel the communists. During the last few onths, the Communist Party has participated in—d in some cases led—several strikes of the unnployed; but it has not yet been able to regain its rmer position in the movement. Such is the sult of all the repetition of words about comunism—and forgetfulness of the communist line ommunism means leadership to action)—in the ily struggle.

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It is self understood that the tasks of the Comunist Party are not confined to the unemployed ovement. Even more important for the Party the establishment of connections with the workers the job, and the creation of shop and factory lls as a strong base for all the work of the Party. is also necessary to reorganise the methods of adership inside the Party. There is much too uch "departmentalisation" and writing of circulars, d much too little live, concrete leadership of the stricts based on knowledge of the concrete situation each district. While the party has many comrades no are devoted to the cause of communism, that nich we call "partyism"—which only a real bolshevik party can possess—is far from being a general characteristic of the New Zealand communists. *Apropos* devotion to the Party, prompt and unfailing fulfilment of Party assignments, constant readiness for Party duty, is the elementary duty of every communist. There can be no real Communist Party without such iron discipline.

The Party has before it the task of transforming its organ, the *Red Worker*, into a real agitator and organiser of the masses. The shortcomings in the propaganda of the Party have already been mentioned. The trouble is that the leading organs of the Party give much too little attention to this, their most important weapon for influencing the workers. Although the latest numbers of the *Red Worker* show certain improvement over the previous issues, they still contain too much abstract material; the life and struggles of the workers are reflected too faintly; there is too little workers' correspondence; most important of all: the task of agitating the masses and mobilising them around the struggle for their everyday demands, of spreading this struggle, and of raising it to a higher level—this task is not sufficiently reflected in the paper, etc.

The New Zealand Party works and struggles under extremely difficult conditions. But life works for us, the communists. "The labour camps," writes an unemployed worker in a letter to the organ of the Labour Party, "accomplish one thing—they create more rebels than there ever were before in the history of New Zealand. Many become absolute (!) bolsheviks, especially the married people. So that we should really be thankful to Katz and Fortz (names of New Zealand ministers) for creating the power which shall finally destroy them."

Yes, even in the paradise of the II International, in "advanced, democratic" New Zealand, the crisis of the capitalist system is turning workers into bolsheviks. But the New Zealand Party must *organise* the spontaneous flow of the working masses to communism, their class sympathy with the land where socialism is being constructed; it must become a real mass party of the New Zealand proletariat. This is at present the basic task of the C.P.N.Z.

(*Continued from page* 852.)

victory the cause to which he devoted his life.

Sen Katayama died on the eve of the sixteenth anniversary of the October Revolution, on the eve of the sixteenth celebration of the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialist construction. It was not granted to him to live to see the World October, but he saw how unshakable and firm the edifice of Socialist construction stands, and conveyed to the Japanese workers the firm assurance that the time is not far distant when they also, after the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, will build up the Socialist society; that the time is not far off when the victorious flag of Soviet China will flutter on the shores of the Yellow Sea; that the time is not far off when capitalism will be overthrown.

The proletarians of all countries, the oppressed of the whole world remember the name of Katayama.

Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS IN SPAIN, AND THE TASKS OF THE C.P.S.

A. Brones.

THE great extension of the proletarian struggle, the acutely sharpening agrarian revolution and the movement of the oppressed peoples, and the simultaneous marked turn of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* towards new methods of domination of the toiling masses characterise recent events in Spain. They show that the revolution is approaching the decisive moment in its development, new battles pregnant with consequences of the greatest importance. These confront the Communist Party with tasks of the greatest responsibility. The Leroux government, the government steering towards fascism, which replaced the coalition of republicans and social-fascists, was called upon to establish effective barriers against the maturing revolution of the workers and peasants. The re-formation of this government and the formation of the new government of Martinez Barrios in reality has not in any way changed the character of even the former government and only shows the great difficulties encountered by the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* in its attempt to strengthen its position. After two and a half years and more of lulling the workers to sleep by means of promises of reforms and improved conditions, the situation in the country becomes steadily worse, even in comparison with the situation on the eve of the revolution, when the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera went completely bankrupt.

It is significant that the new government of finance and large-scale capital, which was established to establish "law and order" in the country, attempts to obtain the direct or indirect support of *all the parties and groupings of the bourgeois-landlord bloc,* from the Monarchists and Jesuits to the Socialists and Anarchists, in spite of the growing ructions in the camp of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, caused by the accelerated process of revolutionary crisis. It is because of the difficult position of the country, with no prospects of improvement, but, on the contrary, prospects of a further worsening, and the maturing revolutionary battles of the toiling masses which force the ruling classes to seek a way out of the crisis by tightening all the screws of the régime of exploitation and rapid preparation for establishing a fascist dictatorship.

The lengthy and intense economic crisis shakes the whole economy of the country to its foundations. It is sufficient to carefully examine the principal economic and financial figures to show the exceedingly acute and rapid economic disintegration, which literally ruins the millions of the masses of the proletarian and peasantry, greatly aggravating their poverty and needs and impelling them to take the road of revolutionary action.

Thus, in the main branches of heavy industry, the production of iron ore dropped from 753,000 tons in 1929 to 270,000 tons in 1932, and the production of steel from 1,007,000 tons in 1929 to 500,000 tons in 1932.* In Biscay, the centre of the large-scale metal industry, of 30,000 metal workers about 6,000 are completely unemployed, and 19,000 work part-time, often only two days a week. Beginning with February, further dismissals have been taking place in the large factories, where new hundreds of workers have been discharged.† In the textile industry the situation is considerably worse; even according to official figures, which considerably belittle the dimensions of the economic devastation, up to 40 per cent. of the total production staff was not employed, and of 200,000 workers who were still employed in 1932, 60,000 had in July, 1933, been completely thrown out of the process of production.‡ In view of the fact that of a total of 2,070,535 spindles in Spain only 151,336 are outside Catalonia,‖ this gives an approximate picture of the terrible condition of the proletariat of Catalonia, the industrial centre of the country.

Even in the coal industry of Asturias, the output of which on the whole does not cover the needs of the country, the output during January and February, 1933, amounts to 65.7 per cent. of the output for the corresponding period of 1932, i.e., a reduction in output of 700,000 tons is expected this year. In connection with this situation and the rationalisation which was being carried on, of a total of about 30,000 miners, 3,000 workers of over fifty years of age and 2,300 young workers were thrown out in March, 1933. The burden of providing the miserly temporary relief which is thrown to the dismissed workers, the owners, with the support of the government and the active

* Revue Economique Internationale, August, 1933.
† "El Debate" of February 19, 1933.
‡ "El Sol" of July 27, 1933.
‖ Revue Economique Internationale.

participation of the social-fascists, transfer to the shoulders of the working miners, choosing a suitable moment when the miners' strike has been broken with the assistance of the social-fascists, thus making their beggarly condition still worse. At the same time six mines were shut down altogether, throwing considerable numbers of the workers out into the streets. In other districts the situation in industry is by no means better, and even the official republican optimists, who conceal and falsify the real situation in the country, are nevertheless compelled to own that the total index of production has gone down from 100 in September, 1929, to 75.3 in June, 1932,* and it is particularly during the last year that the curve has been going sharply down.

But in contrast to the situation in the sphere of the industrial crisis, where the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* and its government are still trying, by a series of measures of the Primo de Rivera type to resist, in some sort of way, the ruin which is upon them (government orders for public works, railways, the motorisation of the army, the construction of roads of strategic importance, orders of 200 km. of rails for the Argentine and of men-of-war for Mexico, which were executed with the assistance of government credits, etc.), measures which in the end lead to a still more acute intensification of the economic crisis, to a still greater lowering of the living standard of the working masses, to still greater unemployment.

The ever-intensifying agrarian crisis hits furiously the millions of the small peasantry and the agricultural proletariat, ruining them completely. A vivid expression of this is the reduction in foreign trade—based mainly on the export of agrarian products—which took place in connection with the growing world crisis, the drop in prices of agrarian products, the hunt for markets and the policies of prohibitive tariffs adopted by the capitalist states. Exports are dropping catastrophically — from 2,229,000,000 gold pesetas in 1930 to 593,000,000 gold pesetas during the first ten months of 1932, while imports fell during the same period from 2,447,200,000 to 799,200,000 gold pesetas.† Particularly marked is the reduction in the export of oranges to England (in connection with the Ottawa Conference), of olive oil, grapes and wines. In addition, France has recently introduced prohibitive tariffs on Canary bananas. Thus the toiling peasantry, the small tenants, the rabasseiros, who are burdened with thousands of semi-feudal hindrances, which, for all its promises, the republican bourgeoisie has not done away with, remain without the opportunity of selling their depreciated produce. Their progressive pauperisation is simultaneous with great disaster among the millions of the agricultural proletariat, whose condition is terrible on account of the reduction of the sowing area by the reactionary landlords and their attempts to worsen the position of the labourers.

The difficult conditions prevailing among the masses of the people, in turn, form a factor in the considerable reduction of the home market and the increasing stagnation in trade and transport. The number of bankruptcies has increased, securities are falling, the quantity of goods transported has diminished, and the number of trucks standing idle multiplied by two and a half times between 1930 and 1932.

As the situation of the masses becomes worse and the revolution develops further, the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* and its government intensifies its methods of political reaction and terror. The state budget for 1933, which exceeds the budget of the monarchy by more than a billion pesetas, anticipates a considerably increased expenditure on the whole apparatus of political terror, in the first place on a considerable strengthening of the Guardia Civil, the Guardia de Asalto, and other troops employed in the bloody oppression of the masses by the bourgeois-landlord *bloc*. And at the same time the republican bourgeoisie has laid on the masses of the people the burden of all this greatly increased expenditure for the suppression of the revolutionary movement and persecution of the workers and peasants. An increase has taken place in all direct and indirect taxes, and all sorts of state and municipal rates, in the first place the taxes on sugar, tobacco and other necessaries.

Thus, in the third year of the bourgeois republic, the republican bourgeoisie is proving to the masses not only that it is unable to put even a temporary stop to the crisis which ensued at the time of the monarchy, but, on the contrary, sharpens it by its whole policy. Without solving a single problem of the revolution, it has brought the masses to unheard-of poverty and disaster, for it makes them pay all the costs of the intense crisis, incessantly increases armaments and the apparatus of political terror, and intensifies repressions against the masses of the people to make them submit to the régime of the capitalists and landlords.

The condition of the toiling masses is expected to become considerably worse in the immediate future. The bourgeoisie and landlords openly say so themselves, calling for unity of all forces in order to withstand the growing wave of revolution. Thus, for instance, in the issue of "El Debate," the organ of the Catholics, of September 10th, 1933, we find the following statement:

* Economia Espanola, February, 1933.
† Economic Conditions in Spain, January, 1933.

"The coming winter will be the hardest and most horrible of the last three years, owing to the innumerable difficulties which the luckless people will encounter. They will be forced to concentrate their energy on quelling the useless protests of their unemployed stomachs. As during recent days in San Sebastian, many will break into the shops to get five sacks of peas."

Such statements on the part of the organ of the extreme Jesuit reactionaries are a vivid reflection of the great alarm felt by the bourgeoisie and the landlords in the face of the revolutionary storm which, to-morrow, threatens to destroy the state of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc*. But, at the same time, they have also a flavour of fascism and social-demagogy which bear witness to the Spanish bourgeoisie's accelerated fascisation. The government of Martinez Barrios, the creature of finance capital and the large-scale bourgeoisie, which came into office as the government of a republican coalition supported by all reactionary circles, tries to rally around itself the parties of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc,* to mass the power of the ruling classes, and achieve the conditions prerequisite for creating a mass base for the fascist dictatorship by attracting extensive sections of the petty bourgeoisie to its side. In their absolute inability to stop the growing impoverishment of economy, the bourgeoisie and landlords direct all their exertions to withstanding the ever harder blows of the revolution growing up among the workers and peasants.

II.

How are the revolutionary battles of the proletariat and peasantry developing under these circumstances? What do they show, and in what direction are they growing, Such are the questions; the replies to which determine the strategic and political tasks which are now facing our Party —the only force which can secure the complete victory of the revolution.

Since the Twelfth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. the developing battles of the proletarian and peasant masses have become extensive and intense as they have never been during the two and a half years of the revolutionary crisis, thus fully confirming the indications of the Plenum.

Although the total number of strikes has diminished, it would be wrong to consider that the fighting energy of the struggling masses has decreased. During the last two years the nature of the battles has changed greatly. Whereas, before, only single factories or groups of workers took action, and the fights were aimed mainly at the granting of their demands and lasted a comparatively short time, during the last year the action of the proletarian masses has been of the nature of hard-fought battles, and each single action embraces a greater number of workers than the last.

Large masses of the workers at a time are drawn into the struggle, and their fights continue not days, but weeks, and sometimes even months, and draw in ever new sections of the workers. Of a large number of these battles it is enough to point out the miners' strike in Asturias, where about 30,000 miners struck work three times for two-three weeks; the fishermen's strike in Cantabrico, the Mediterranean fishermen's strike, the builders', dockers' and carpenters' strike in Barcelona and Duro de la Felguera, the munition workers' strike in Eibar, the agricultural labourers' strike in Salamanca, Jaen, etc. Thus manifesting a tendency to spread to whole branches of industry, whole provinces, and the whole country, these strikes are remarkable in that they adopt a political character much more rapidly than before and turn into mass general strikes on a local or provincial scale. According to incomplete data, the revolutionary upsurge among the masses resulted in eighty mass general strikes in five months of 1933, as against thirty in the whole of 1931; moreover, during these fights the masses do not confine themselves to economic demands, as before, but everywhere put forward demands of a political nature and fight for them by united action against the whole state apparatus of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc*. Lenin's principle of the close dependence and interconnection between the economic and the political strike finds renewed confirmation in this development.

"The exact interdependence of the economic and political strike is now quite clear: without a close connection between them, a really broad, a really mass movement is impossible; the concrete form of this connection is, on the one hand, that in the early days of the movement, and when new elements are drawn into it, the purely economic strike is in the position of most prominence, while, on the other hand, the political strike rouses the backward, unifies and broadens the movement, raises it to a higher stage."*

In spite of the insufficiently great part played by our Party in the organisational leadership of action, the working masses, through their own experience, and *under the political influence of our Party,* in the process of the struggle free themselves, though slowly, of the influence of the ruinous tricks of the social-democratic and anarchist leaders, master more and more the revolutionary strike tactics and introduce them into their daily activities. The revolutionary battles have,

* Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XV.

a whole, mounted to a higher plane, and the asses of the workers by their class instinct seek er more insistently class revolutionary methods struggle and a real revolutionary leadership of e fight.

The old anarchist tradition of declaring strikes means of a direct order on the part of the archo-syndicalist bosses has been changed in any respects by the practice of the working asses themselves under the influence of Com-unist agitation; these masses are now drawn to the discussion of and preparation for their ruggle, and in many cases even elect strike com-ttees for leadership. Ever more frequent are ses of the workers' rejecting limitation of strikes til negotiations with the republican authorities, d particularly with provincial governors, take ace, and depend more and more on their own rength and organisation. Under the political fluence of the Communist Party, the working asses have also to a very considerable extent ercome the anarchist tradition which isolates e strike — one of the forms of revolutionary ruggle—from all other forms of mass action by e proletariat, particularly from demonstrations the streets. Even in Barcelona, the centre of archist influence, large-scale mass demonstra-ons which put forward political demands took ace during the builders' strike. This is par-cularly important in that the masses, by freeing emselves of the anarchist attitude of scorn for monstrations and the consequent *Putschist* view at the streets can serve only for insurrections armed detachments (*"accion directa"*), extend eir struggle and give it a fighting political ture. This is also influenced by the fact that e masses are ridding themselves of the anar-ist illusion that general strikes must be pro-aimed without a time limit — the "endless" ikes.

The anarchists always set these superficially ry "revolutionary" ideas in opposition to our rty's calls to develop the struggle by means of - or 48-hour political or solidarity strikes; these as played a highly counter-revolutionary part d formed one of the barriers to the developing vement. The masses now apply this method struggle everywhere, and are thus enabled to e action against the government of the bour-ois-landlord *bloc* with more force and on a nsiderably broader front. Lastly, there is no ubt that the proletarian masses which are still der the influence of the social-fascist leaders press themselves with ever more determination ainst the strike-breaking policy of their leaders, d defy their instructions by coming out to fight large-scale mass strikes.

All these indications of a growing revolutionisation of the masses point to the ever-growing need felt by the masses for struggle against the whole apparatus of the power of the bourgeoisie, into conflict with which they come at every moment in the course of their daily struggle; and to the fact that in the process of the struggle they break through the fetters of their leaders' treachery which bind their revolutionary energy. The growing revolutionary movement shows ever more examples of struggle turning into armed fights with the police and the gendarmerie. A great change has taken place among the masses of the people since the spring of 1931, the first year of the republic, when the masses regarded the new republican government with hope, expecting it to keep its false promises. The strike struggle of the workers is ever more often accompanied by armed conflicts with the Guardia Civil and the Guardia de Asalto, and the armed action of the workers and peasants in Duro de la Felguera and Casas Viejas have shown examples of armed revolt which is close to civil war. In their action the masses spontaneously introduce new forms of struggle, such as the revolutionary seizure of factories, as when the miners seized the mines in Saliente and during the last few weeks also in Linares. While not desisting from various manoeuvres, the republican bourgeoisie is forced to introduce ever new armed forces against the fighting workers, and thus itself intensifies the revolutionary struggle of the working masses.

The revolution has made a considerable stride forward throughout the country, although its development has not been even; particularly has it advanced in districts of feudal landlord exploitation and national oppression.

Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of peasants and labourers have at present been drawn into the movement by the agrarian revolution. They are now no longer the masses which at the beginning of the revolution quietly waited for the republican-socialist promises of agrarian reform to be fulfilled.

After single scattered cases in 1932 of seizure of the harvest, cattle and landlords' estates by the peasants and labourers, at the end of 1932 and beginning of 1933 the peasant and labouring masses passed over to extensive seizure of the land of the landlords, and defence of it against the attacks of the landlords and their state-armed forces. Neither the persuasion of the social-fascists to wait for a "just" division, nor the threats of the government, nor the massing of the largest bodies of the Guardia Civil were effective against it. A special postscript to the decree on agrarian reform, threatening those who seize land without warrant with deprivation of the "benefits" of agrarian reform did not make the

least impression on the masses roused to struggle. A similar defeat was suffered by an attempt of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* to frighten the masses by means of the Guardia Civil, which, after failing to smash the peasants and labourers is open battle, attempted to hinder the extension of the movement by registering the names of those involved.

In spite of all these manoeuvres and numerous repressions, the movement has developed rapidly, and has embraced the largest provinces where large-scale landownership flourishes, such as Badajoz, Caceres, Seville, Salamanca, and so on. The bourgeoisie's attempts to make this revolutionary agrarian movement appear as single cases of land seizure which have only become more frequent, as also the demagogy of social-fascists to the effect that the peasants and labourers are only carrving through the government agrarian reform, are nothing other than an attempt to conceal the fact that the main masses of the peasantry and labourers have come into the struggle, and that the revolution has passed to a higher stage—the agrarian revolution has developed.

The point is not only that between the beginning of this year and the end of March the peasants and labourers seized 311 estates, even according to the belittling data of the bourgeois press. The main thing is that this movement went on in whole districts of large-scale landownership, and that it showed the great organisation and firmness of the masses, although it took place spontaneously and without the necessary leadership on the part of our Party. For instance, according to the incomplete data of the burgeois press, in Trujillo, the largest district in the Caceres province, which comprises 117 landlords' estates of over 250 hectares, with a total area of 48,843 hectares,* the peasants and labourers in the course of six days seized 51 estates and in 23 localities established peasants' committees to guide the struggle. Thus the peasants and labourers seize tens of thousands of hectares of landlords' estates; they organise detachments of 500 to 1,000, and seize the land, riding out into the fields in large groups, sometimes with red banners; they often establish a peasant militia, which has frequently formed the organisational centre of the fight and self-defence of the insurgent masses.

This enormous movement is developing against a growing background of agricultural labourers' strikes in a number of districts in which large-scale landownership prevails, where tens of thousands of labourers are drawn at a time into the movement and fight against large bodies of the bourgeois-landlord government's troops. At the same time, in Catalonia, the struggle of the rabasseiros is developing; their action takes the form of vast demonstrations and meetings demanding the abolition or restriction of the hateful semi-feudal landholding system, the "Rabassa Morta,"* of taxes, etc. Of a series of actions on their part, which have lately been ending more and more often in fights with the Guardia Civil, note should be taken of their march on Barcelona on April 14th, 1932, where, on the occasion of the anniversary of the revolution, they organised a demonstration in which tens of thousands of rabasseiros took part, and which took place under slogans put forward by our Party, such as "the land for the toiling peasantry," "down with the Rabassa Morta," "down with the taxes." The peasant masses in Galicia are roused to struggle ever more; they refuse to pay taxes, and actively support the fighting workers.

The growing national struggle, particularly that in Catalonia and Biscay, against Spanish imperialism, has lately given particularly numerous examples of revolutionary strikes, demonstrations and meetings of the oppressed peoples, and forms an important part of this expanding struggle of the workers and peasants. In the colonies, particularly in Morocco, armed struggle of the native population against the domination of the Spanish imperialists has grown considerably; it takes place with the active participation of the urban proletariat, which, by means of militant strikes and demonstrations, as in Melilla, takes action together with the rising colonial peasantry, forcing the Spanish imperialists to seek support from French imperialism and to turn the colonies into military camps.

The soldiers become ever less "reliable" for the bourgeois-land government, for they are drawn into the struggle and take part in much of the action of the workers and peasants. Distrusting the army, the bourgeois-landlord government attempts to provide for the struggle against revolutionary action on the part of the workers and peasants by means of setting up various corps of guards and strike-breaking organisations.

Themselves experiencing the growing class struggle, which is strengthened by the agitation of the Communist Party, the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers see ever more clearly the real reactionary nature of the capitalist and landlord government. They come ever more to the realisation that this republic will not give them the freedom, land, bread and work for which they shed their blood in struggle against the monarchy, and which the republican bourgeoisie promised them.

* Pascual Carrion, "Los Latifundios en Espana."

* "Rabassa Morta": a semi-feudal remnant consisting in payment of rent in kind (produce) which often amounts to more than half thereof.—Ed.

Hence arises the rapid dispelling of the demo-tic republican illusions of the masses, their wing distrust of the counter-revolutionary rtes and its parties, of the government and the ublic. The times of the Sebastian pact, when struggle of the workers could be undermined l broken by means of republican demagogy, long past. The masses realise ever more arly that only by employing violence to do away h the power of the capitalists and landlords, uprooting their régime, can they bring about lecisive and permanent improvement in their sition. And for this reason the masses of the rkers and peasants have in their struggle ently been faced ever more sharply with the cessity of struggle for the overthrow of the urgeois-landlord régime, for a workers' and asants' government in the form of soviets.

III.

The failure of the Communist Party to keep ce with this exceptionally sharp and prolonged volutionary struggle of the masses of workers l peasants forms a serious danger to the further velopment and the complete victory of the volution.

The overwhelming majority of cases of revolu-nary action on the part of the toiling masses es place spontaneously, or else falls under the ection of the socialist-fascist and anarchist ders; in their treachery these leaders attempt direct the revolutionary energy and heroism of fighting masses into the channels of defence the bourgeoisie against the growing revolution. In spite of a number of important achievements, Communist Party of Spain has still not suc-ded in isolating these traitors from the masses; has not proved able to place itself at the head the struggle of the workers and peasants and ensure the correct political leadership and ganisation of the great revolutionary upsurge. is explains the fact that the masses coming out action do not yet make it the common single n of their struggle to do away with the régime the landlords and capitalists and establish their n workers' and peasants' power. Their action at times scattered and incidental because there no real revolutionary organisation of their uggle. This is made full use of by the land-ds and bourgeoisie, who, owing to this weak-s of the proletarian vanguard are given the portunity to manoeuvre against the workers' l peasants' revolution. Making use of the dis-on and loss of bearings brought into the ranks the toilers by the anarchists and social-fascists, y gather all their strength in order to delay l later crush the mighty revolutionary struggle the workers and peasants.

Azana's counter-revolutionary slogan that "the period of reforms is over," which he put forward in the name of the coalition of republicans and socialists at the beginning of this year in order to gather around himself all the forces of the counter-revolution, does not satisfy the bourgeoisie now. Unable to cope with increasing ruin, the bourgeoisie tries to make the toiling masses bear the whole burden of the crisis and to take away by means of violence and bloodshed what the masses have won through stubborn struggle —to turn the peasants and labourers out of the landlords' lands they have seized, do away with the labourers' reduced working hours and slightly increased pay; make the workers work on the old conditions, and to quell the mutterings of rebelling oppressed and enslaved peoples. This is ever more openly and insolently proclaimed by representatives of the bourgeoisie-landlord *bloc*. This was the import of the platform adopted by the Economic-Agrarian Conference in March of last year, which headed the counter-revolutionary campaign of the landlords and capitalists. At this conference, De Velavco, a well-known monarchist and leader of the agrarians, said as much, to the applause of the monarchist and republican bourgeoisie:

> "Most of all, I am consoled by the present spectacle, and I think that we are all united, without the least differences to divide us, and can undertake the defence of those most important interests for which we must all sacrifice ourselves, for they are the interests of the country."*

Having set themselves the task of defeating the coming new mightier wave of revolution, the bourgeoisie and landlords know that they will be incapable of doing it by an open direct attack.

The bourgeois-landlord *bloc* attempts to achieve these aims by roundabout manoeuvres and new methods.

Playing on the discontent and disappointment of the masses in the policy of the socialist-republican coalition, the growing neediness and disaster among the masses, the accelerated disillusion of the masses with democracy, and also the insufficient activity of the Communist Party, the bourgeoisie, while retaining the social-fascist and anarcho-syndicalist organisations as its main social support, attempts to establish a supplementary mass basis for its régime by means of organising a fascist movement. During the last few months this movement has been dangerously expanding, particularly in connection with the coming to power of fascism in Germany. The exceptional cleverness of the bourgeoisie's policy consists in distracting attention and catching the

* Economia Espanola, March, 1933.

masses in the trap of the fascist movement, not only by means of openly fascist organisations such as the Junta Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista or the Accion Popular, which copy their organisation, tactics and slogans from those of the German fascists.

Taking into consideration the profound hatred felt by the masses of the people towards fascism, which breaks out in exceptionally stormy mass action, the bourgeoisie and landlords, their parties and agents prepare the ground for fascism by various methods.

Beginning with petty-bourgeois revolutionaries of the type centred around the "La Tierra," federalists and anarchists who carry on propaganda about the superiority of the Spanish race and the peculiarly "Spanish" revolution, and ending with radicals, Jesuits and monarchists, all the parties and fractions of the bourgeoisie attempt, under various names and organisational forms, with the assistance of unrestrained social demagogy to win to fascism the masses of the pauperised urban petty bourgeoisie and of the starving peasantry, and even the backward sections of the workers.

Thus the fascist bourgeoisie, with the whole-hearted support and benevolent protection of the coalition government of the socialists and republicans, and utilising the whole of its counter-revolutionary policy of persecution, terror, and shooting of the masses of the people, is building a new bulwark against the coming series of great revolutionary struggles of the masses of the proletariat and peasantry, which will become more and more direct struggles for power.

In this complex new situation the methods of the principal support of the bourgeoisie among the workers—of the social-fascists—have changed, too. They have been carrying out to perfection the instructions of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* and have, as the party of the government, afforded the bourgeoisie full support in resisting the first attacks of the revolution.

Wherever their republican and democratic demagogy was not effective they had no hesitation in employing the Guardia Civil troops, and other forces they had created, against the masses of the people. They crushed and strangled the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, and the unprecedented bloody massacres of the workers and peasants in the park of Maria-Luisa, in Seville, in Casas Viejas and dozens of other places were the deeds of their government. They saved from the fire of the revolution the apparatus of power of the bourgeoisie and landlords which had existed under the monarchy. With their whole-hearted participation the bourgeois-landlord *bloc* carried in the "democratic" Cortes pieces of fascist legislation such as the fascist law of April 8th, 1932, against the trade unions, the law on the defence of the republic, on order, on vagrancy, etc., which are sharp weapons in the hands of the landlords and capitalists against the workers and peasants.

At the moment, in connection with the rapid revolutionisation of the masses, the beginning desertion of the social-fascists by the workers and peasants and the rapidly increasing influence of the Communist Party of Spain, the social-fascists are more useful to the bourgeoisie as a loyal opposition party, whose task is to break down within the ranks of the proletariat its revolutionary action, to break its ranks and to help to smash its movement. All the bourgeois republican parties openly speak of this, generously praising the social-fascists for the services they have rendered, and urge them to continue their service in a new rôle.

From November, 1933, on, the social-fascists have been regularly preparing new tactics for carrying out the immediate tasks set them by the bourgeois-landlord *bloc*. At that time they formally carried through at their congresses the separation of their trade union organisation, the U.N.T.,* from the socialist party, in order to increase the manoeuvring capacity of their leaders.

From prohibition of strikes they passed on to a clever utilisation of the weapon of strikes for enfeebling and betraying the fighting workers. They are now, under the pressure of the masses, at the head of the last of four mighty general miners' strikes in Asturias since that time, of which the others each time ended in defeat for the workers. The same is the result of a number of strike movements which they head in the country, particularly among the agricultural labourers.

They attempt to retain the trust of the toiling masses and hinder their going over to the Communist Party by clever manoeuvres. For this purpose they make use of hypocritical phrases about defending the U.S.S.R. and establishing diplomatic relations with it, they practise a fraudulent swindle with the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the socialist press and agitation carry on unprecedented juggling with Communist phraseology, giving particular prominence to their so-called "struggle" against fascism and reaction.

At the same time the social-fascists are the most certain servants of the fascist bourgeoisie. While their organisations keep the masses from action against the growing danger of fascism,

* General Federation of Labour.

r "Left" leader, Besteiro, together with repre-
tatives of the capitalist landlords and the presi-
t of the republic, Alcala Zamora, sets up the
ernment of Leroux, the government steering
ards fascism. Thus they are following the
mple of their German and Italian colleagues
clearing the road for fascist dictatorship and
paring feverishly to meet the coming fight of
revolutionary proletariat and peasantry in
r rôle of the loyal support of the bourgeoisie
ed with all possible treacherous manoeuvres.
his policy of the direct supporters of the bour-
isie is supplemented by the anarcho-syndicalist
lers. Acting in districts where large numbers
revolutionary workers are centred, the anar-
ts, by means of *putschist* rebellions and
repared strikes, dissipate and lessen the revo-
onary energy of the masses, thus preventing
anised preparation for struggle and particu-
y discrediting the idea of an armed uprising
inst the capitalist-landlord régime, for the
er of the workers and peasants. The
sches of January 9th and May 8th of this year,
igated by them, clearly prove that their actions
inspired by government and bourgeois agents
are calculated to disorganise the ranks of
workers at the very moment of direct danger
the bourgeoisie, when the masses of workers
peasants begin to attack.

he policy of disunion and fratricidal struggle
ng the workers constantly carried on by the
rchists sends the backward sections of the
kers following them into the arms of fascism.
moment when the bourgeoisie is uniting with
landlords in order to lend strength to the
nter-revolution, the anarchists, after splitting
C.N.T. into the Federation of Iberian Anar-
ts and Pestana's group, are the best agents
he bourgeoisie for increasing the disunion
ng the working class—a disunion which is the
st security for the bourgeoisie that the work-
class will not be able to come out for organ-
successful struggle against the power of
lords and capitalists. Their mass expropria-
of bankers and merchants, without excluding
ll shopkeepers, frightens the petty-bour-
sie, especially in Catalonia, into the toils of
ism.

In the fascisation of the country carried through by the bourgeoisie, the anarchists of both groups are wholly on the side of the bourgeoisie. Under the disguise of struggle "against Marxism" they carry on, together with the whole of the bourgeoisie—even the monarchists—a rabid campaign against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Under the appearance of opposition to the coalition of republicans and socialists, they supported Leroux when he was openly propelled to power, declaring that his government would prove "profitable" for the working masses. By this they confirm once more the deal they have concluded with the radical party of Leroux, which is going through a rapid process of fascisation.

At a moment of great danger threatening from the side of fascism and reaction, they pretend to be humanitarian and put forward the slogan of "amnesty for everyone"—which means for the fascists and monarchists, fighting against the campaign carried on by the Communist Party for complete amnesty for the workers and peasants. All the tactics and activity of the anarchists show that they, like the social-fascists, though in a different way, help the fascist bourgeoisie to prepare for crushing the growing revolution of the workers and peasants, showing that they are the worst enemies of the revolution, that they are *anarcho-fascists.*

We see, therefore, that the government of Leroux, and later also the government of Martinez Barrios, comes to power with not only the support of all the parties of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc,* but also the active assistance of the social fascists and anarcho-fascists. In spite of the differences and arguments in the camp of the bourgeois-landlord *bloc,* in spite of the regroupings which are taking place, of the so-called "opposition" of some groups, this government, in which the leading part is played by the radical party, which represents the interests of finance capital and the large-scale bourgeoisie, expresses *the striving of the whole bourgeoisie and landlords to unite, to establish a "firm government" in order to repulse the new growing wave of revolution of the workers and peasants.*

(To be continued)

TO THE MEMORY OF THE DEVOTED FIGHTER FOR THE CAUSE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

SEN KATAYAMA.

Moscow, November 6, 1933.

AFTER the death of the great fighter for the cause of Communism, Clara Zetkin, another old and staunch fighter for the proletarian world revolution has been taken from our midst. He was an out-and-out Bolshevik, a man the whole of whose long life was entirely and wholeheartedly devoted to the proletarian fight, to the cause of the toilers and oppressed of the whole world, to the cause of the emancipation of humanity from the bloody yoke of capital, to the cause of Communism.

As the first organiser of the labour movement of Japan, Comrade Sen Katayama passed through a hard school of struggle. In his childhood he cultivated a peasant's small plot of land. Following this he became a printer in Tokyo, then a landworker on American farms and a kitchen hand in an American restaurant. He organised the first strikes of the Japanese proletarians and the first trade unions. He founded the Socialist Party of Japan. Already in 1903, when the bloody war between Tsarist Russia and monarchist Japan began, he carried the red flag of proletarian internationalism in the streets of Tokyo, calling upon the workers and peasants to fight against their own landlords and capitalists.

At the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International he came forward and exposed the social traitors who supported the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and sought to participate in bourgeois governments. He called upon the workers of Japan and Russia to unite and fight against their governments.

As the son of a country where a monarchist gang of landowners and capitalists, under the false flag of alleged national interests, feathered their nests at the expense of the working population, Sen Katayama was always an incorruptible, devoted champion for the proletarian International. As a proletarian he himself experienced the yoke of barbarous Japanese capitalism, which wields a semi-feudal knout. He suffered under the yoke of civilised American capitalism, which maintains its rule with the aid of fraudulent bourgeois democracy. Wherever fate took him, he went immediately among the masses and proclaimed deadly hatred against capitalism and advocated the international unity of the proletariat.

In the ranks of the Second International before the war he was a man of the coming epoch of revolutionary upheaval, of the great battles for Socialism. Never betraying his class, Katayama unhesitatingly came under the flag of Lenin, and carried this flag courageously and steadfastly to the end of his life. Whilst in America during the world war, Katayama exposed the war and all its imperialist inciters. In the United States he gathered together the forces of the proletarian International. On the outbreak of the October Revolution he was wholeheartedly on the side of the Bolsheviki. In 1919 he founded the first Japanese Communist group in the U.S.A.

In the ranks of the Comintern he was always elected a member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee. He fought on

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